1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1
116, 175 (1928-29)

"As to the history of the Jibaros, only a few dates may be given here. The Jibaros are mentioned for the first time in history in connection with the war of conquest which the Inca Tupac Yupanqui made against the kingdom of Quito about 1450. In southern Ecuador, in the province now called Azuay, the Peruvian conqueror had to fight the Cañaris, who are said to have had the Jibaros of Macas for their allies. The Cañaris were vanquished, but the Jibaros probably retired to their forests, retaining their liberty. Tupac Yupanqui's son, Huayna Capac, following up the scheme of his father to conquer Ecuador, also made an attempt to vanquish the Jibaros. He descended to the province of Bracamoros in the basin of the Rio Chinchipe, but, his troops being decimated both by the unhealthy climate and by the attacks of the savages, he was [4] obliged to retire quickly. The Incas thus failed to subdue the Jibaros, although they nominally formed part of the kingdom Huayna Capac founded in Ecuador.

The Jibaros are frequently mentioned in connection with expeditions made into the unknown eastern regions after the Spanish conquest, which began in 1534. About 1550 the Government of Macas was founded, and at this time the Spaniards gained a footing in the country of the Jibaros, although the Indians remained independent. But in 1552, when a bloody war was being carried on between the tribes of the Paute and the tribes of the Morona, the Spaniards availed themselves of the opportunity and sent their troops to take possession of the territory of the Paute. The Jibaros resisted in vain; they were obliged to surrender to the intruders and allow them to found the pretty village Logroño on the left bank of the river of the same name. About that time the village Mendoza was founded on the left bank of the Palora, and the great Sevilla de Oro, the capital of the whole province, on the right bank of the Upano; at the same time other regions inhabited by the Jibaros were explored. The most remarkable expedition was that undertaken by Juan de Salinas, the Governor of Macas, in 1557. Starting from Loja, he crossed the cordillera, and founded successively the villages Valladolid, Loyola, Santiago de Montañas, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva. Thereafter he embarked on the Santiago, went down to the Marañon, passed the Pongo de Manseriche, the mouths of the Morona, and the Pastaza, and made a trip up the Ucayali, whereupon he returned to Loja.

Thus several large villages with a numerous population -- Sevilla de Oro is said to have had nearly 25,000 inhabitants--had been founded in the midst of the Jibaro country, and it is natural that the Indians by and by became subject to the white newcomers, a state which soon became almost intolerable. The Spaniards in Eastern Ecuador inaugurated the same condemnable colonial policy as in other parts of South America, treated the natives as a conquered race, and compelled them to work in the gold and silver mines. The consequence was that the Indian population in these regions began to diminish rapidly, some of the natives dying in the mines, others fleeing to the impenetrable forests in the interior of the country. The general indignation on account of the numerous abuses by the Spaniards found vent in repeated rebellions. The most disastrous in its consequences was the one which took place in 1599. The coronation of King Philip III in this year gave the Governor [5] of Macas a pretext for exacting a great tribute in gold from his whole province. The Jibaros, alarmed on account of this unjust demand, rose under the chief Quiruba, who succeeded in uniting all the Jibaro tribes on the Upano, Paute, Santiago, and Morona against the common enemy. On a fixed day 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño, the whole population of which was massacred with the exception of the children and the younger women, who spent the rest of their days as the wives of their captors. The village itself was plundered and burnt. Thereupon the Indians marched to Sevilla de Oro, where the majority of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The villagers made a desperate resistance and the assailants were at last obliged to retire, having nevertheless, as we are told, killed no less than three-fourths of the inhabitants. They moreover succeeded in setting fire to the village, which was totally destroyed. Of the ancient great capital of the province Macas there is in our days scarcely a trace. But on the right bank of the Upano, not very far from the place where the ancient capital Sevilla de Oro stood, was founded later the village Macas which still exists, and the inhabitants of which are probably in part descendants of the Spaniards who survived the destruction of Sevilla de Oro.

The Jibaros had thus regained their independence, and all the punitive expeditions were ineffectual. But the supposed richness in precious metals of the eastern regions always attracted the avarice of the Spaniards, and in the seventeenth century we have to note several attempts to found new colonies in the country of the Jibaros and to 'placate' the Indians. In 1619 the corregidor of Yaguarzongo, Diego Vaca de Vega, with a party of 68 armed men and many Indians, embarked on the Santiago and went down to the Marañon, and founded on the left bank of this river the village San Francisco de Borga. On his return he was appointed Governor of Macas by the Viceroy of Peru, his particular task being the pacification of the Jibaros. His son and successor as Governor of Macas in 1645 sent two Franciscan monks who, from Cuenca, penetrated into the jibarias. This expedition, though in itself fruitless, was still remarkable as being one of the first attempts to win the Jibaros by more peaceful methods than those hitherto practised by the Spaniards. A few years earlier the Jesuits had begun their missionary work in the remoter parts of the Ecuadorian Oriente, having founded the great Mission of Maynas in 1642. Both the Jesuits and the Franciscans however failed in their attempts to 'reduce' the Jibaros, the chief cause of their failure being their unwise policy in cooperating in expeditions [6] sent by the Spanish government and pursuing purely military and economic ends. The expeditions sent to the country of the Jibaros were in fact half military, half religious. Two of them deserve particular mention of which the one was undertaken in 1656, the other in 1692. As to the first one, Martin de la Riva, Governor of Cajamarca, wishing to take possession of the rich territories north of the Marañon, sent an army of 100 soldiers, who were reinforced by a number of armed Indians from the province of Mainas, to the district inhabited by the Jibaros. The Jesuits, thinking it possible 'to serve at once the divine and the human Majesty', sent Father Raimundo Santa Cruz to join the expedition. Starting from the Huallaga and going up the Marañon, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Santiago, where it came into contact with the Jibaros. The suspicious savages seem at first to have listened with a certain confidence, to the emphatic declarations of the Father that he and his party only visited them with the best intentions, and they even promised to settle themselves in a village and to receive the teaching of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, however, the Spanish soldiers began meanwhile to ask the Indians about the gold and silver mines existing in their country. The suspicion of the natives was instantly aroused. Thinking that the real intention of the whites was to compel them to work in the mines, they precipitately fled to the interior of the forests, thereafter announcing their presence only in the form of attacks which they made on the soldiers from their ambuscades.

Still more characteristic of the Spanish method of civilising the savage Indians is the expedition undertaken in 1692. This year Father Lucero entered the country of the Jibaros with a small fleet, avoiding, however, a directly warlike attitude towards them, 'thinking it possible to achieve more among the Jibaros with kindness than with open violence'. The only result of this expedition was the formation of a small village called Naranjo, which soon ceased to exist. But in the same year a greater attempt was made on the part of the government. Rumours about the gold of the Jibaros had reached even the court of Madrid, and a royal order was dispatched to Quito that a great expedition should be sent to the Oriente for the purpose of bringing the Jibaros definitely under Spanish rule. The leader of the expedition was the Captain of Mainas, Jeronimo Vacas, who was accompanied by the Superintendent of the missions, Father Viva. A regular fleet of canoes was assembled at Borja for the transportation of the army which consisted of no less than 900 armed Indians of different tribes and nearly [7] 100 Spanish soldiers. The fleet went up the Santigo and the troops encamped at a small affluent of the same river. Now a real man-hunt began. The soldiers had captured 21 members of a party of Jibaro Indians who had been engaged in celebrating a head-feast. The rest of the party escaped and soon brought the news of the arrival of the Spaniards to other Jibaro tribes in the neighbourhood, thus giving them time to take precautions. The Spanish army, divided into smaller parties, roamed the forests in all directions trying to catch the Jibaros wherever they found them, and taking all that they could get hold of to their headquarters. The Indians fled before the troops, concealing themselves in the thickets of the wood and making repeated attacks on them from their ambuscades. The result was that in five months the expedition only succeeded in catching 372 persons, among whom were numerous children. The latter were instantly baptised, and the captives were then sent to the village of Borja and to another missionary station. Many of them, however, succeeded in escaping and fled back to their forests, others committed suicide, and mothers were even seen strangling their babes with their own hands to liberate them from the destiny of slavery awaiting them. The result of this expedition, so carefully prepared, was thus practically nil, and we are told that the Viceroy of Peru, realising the futility of such attempts, prohibited similar raids for the future.

It is not until the latter half of the following century that we hear of a new attempt on the part of the Catholic missionaries to 'reduce' the Jibaros. Once more it was the Jesuits who took the field. In 1767 Father Camacho, wishing to enlarge the limits of the Mission of Mainas towards the west, went among the Jibaros inhabiting the regions between the Pastaza and the Morona, and coming without any other white men he gradually succeeded in gaining the confidence and even the friendship of the Indians. They declared themselves willing to receive the Catholic missionaries, and the Father himself was able to baptize about 200 children. But the promising mission work thus begun was soon interrupted by the expulsion ot [sic] the Jesuits from the Ecuadorian Oriente in 1768. The missions founded by them fell into decay or were given over to Franciscans or other Catholic priests.

The wars of independence, which began in 1809 in Ecuador, and the political disorders following them gave neither the secular authorities nor the Church any time to think of the subjection or conversion of the heathen. In all the first part of the nineteenth century no expedition of importance was made to the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. But in [8] 1869, when the president Garcia Moreno allowed the Jesuits to return to their ancient missions in Eastern Ecuador, the work of evangelization was again begun, although with as little success as before so far as the Jibaros were concerned. The anti-clerical president, Alfaro, expelled the Jesuits in 1895 from those parts of the Oriente where they were still active, but other Catholic missionaries of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Salesian orders stayed there, without attaining any visible results. Various attempts have been made to found mission stations or Catholic schools among the tribes living round the Rio Santiago and its tributaries, but they have all been of short duration; this may be said, for instance, of the school established by the Franciscan de Lasplanes on the Rio Arapicos in 1888, and by the

Dominican Vacas Galindo on the Upano in 1890. In 1915 Dominican monks from the village of Canelos founded a new mission among the Jibaros of the Rio Arapicos. The Indians here 'reduced' were members of different families which had been attacked by their enemies and had taken the refuge in the mission. For Christianity and 'civilisation' they seemed to have no interest, and it is almost certain that they will use the first opportunity to regain their former independent life.

Besides this mission, which is still at work, there is one more on the Rio Santiago founded by monks of the Salesian order.

Protestant missionaries have also been working among the Jibaros. In the year 1902 the Gospel Missionary Union of the U.S.A. decided to undertake a mission in this field, and sent Mr. Freeland down to Macas on the Upano. He was reinforced by the arrival of Mr. Olson in 1905, who was still at work among the Jibaros in 1919. But it seems to me that these Protestant missionaries, lacking the experience and psychological eye of their Catholic colleagues, have had still less success in their work than the latter. At any rate there were not, at the time of my stay among the Indians of the Upano, any converted Indians in this region, nor do I believe that these Indians will ever voluntarily embrace any form of Christianity. The only thing they wish is to retain their political and mental independence.

Still the Jibaros at present live on a friendly footing with the whites and allow them to travel freely through their country, finding the trade with them useful. On the other hand, both the mestizos of Macas and the rubber merchants who sometimes visit their country have as a rule taken care not to repeat the abuses of former times. There have been a few exceptions to this rule, as is shown for instance by the wars [9] which the Huambizas have, in recent years, fought with Peruvian soldiers and which will presently be mentioned.

It seems to me necessary to know these main facts from the history of the Jibaros in order fully to understand their present character. With the same heroism as they displayed in defending themselves against the attempts of the Spaniards to subjugate them politically, they have resisted the repeated attempts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them, as if instinctively knowing that the introduction of Christian civil-

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-11
116, 175 (1928-29)

ization among Indians means the beginning of political slavery and cultural degeneration. (1)"

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"1. The short history of the Jibaro Indians given by me here is founded on the following works: Chantre y Herrera, *Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesús en el Marañon español*. Madrid, 1901. Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de la compañia de Jesús en el pais de los Maynas*. Madrid, 1904. Gonzalez Suarez, *Estudio historia sobre los Cañaris*. Quito, 1878. Idem, *Historia general de la republica del Ecuador*, vol. VI. Quito, 1903. Vacas Galindo, *Nankijukima*. Ambato, 1895. Idem, *La integridad territorial de la republica del Ecuador*, Quito, 1905, [sic] The statements which refer to the history of the Jibaros during the present century are founded on my personal observations and inquiries."

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 175 (1928-29)

"From the village of Macas which, as I have said, was the main basis for my studies of the Jibaro Indians, I made numerous expeditions to the tribes living in the south, in the east, and in the north, and I soon found that this region was one of the chief centres of this native Indian culture. For about two years I roamed the endless virgin forests between the Upano and the Morona in all directions, and I do not, of course, propose to relate all my experiences during these journeys. A general description of the country and the conditions under which its inhabitants live may, however, be necessary as an introduction to the detailed account of the customs of the Indians which I shall give later on. A fuller account will be given of the expedition undertaken to the Chirapas, a Jibaro tribe on the upper Rio Pastaza, where I was for the first time present at a 'tsantsa'-feast, the great victory feast of these Indians.

In order to reach Macas I had to start from Riobamba, a big town in the central cordilleras of Ecuador. It is situated about 2,800 meters above the sea, with an extensive view over distant blue mountains and snow-clad volcanoes and a splendid, pure air. Native life here is still more characteristic than at Quito. No tract of the Ecuadorian Andes is so thickly populated as the one of Riobamba. Every day one can see long processions of Quichua-speaking Indian men and women marching into the town from the surrounding villages driving herds of llamas and donkeys laden with all sorts of agricultural products, and on a dia de feria (market day) the great plazas, the meeting-places for thousands of poncho-clad natives, offers a very picturesque sight. Unfortunately the social and political conditions under which the Indians of the Riobamba region live are extremely bad, inasmuch as in many cases they are outside the protection which the laws of the country ought to afford to all of its inhabi-[49] tants. The Indians, who of course are the original owners of the soil, have mercilessly been forced out of the areas they occupied by the rich hacienda owners, who often deny them the right even to reap the products from the small plots of land which surround their primitive huts and which give them their only livelihood.

From Riobamba the Upano can be reached in seven days, although the distance is no more than about 50 leagues (170 miles). The roads in this part of the Oriente, it should be understood, are worse than anywhere else in Ecuador. Still, nearly half of the way can be covered on horseback, although only horses or mules particularly trained for the purpose are able to take the traveller over the dreadful paths which lead down to the banks of the river Upano.

About four marches eastwards from Riobamba there is a small village called Chanala, inhabited by Quichua Indians and mestizos. These natives frequently go to Riobamba as arrieros (mule and horse drivers) or to sell their agricultural products, and they possess horses and mules which are specially trained for travelling on the rough

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 175 (1928-29)

roads in the Ecuadorian mountain regions. During my first stay at Riobamba I made the acquaintance of one of the mestizos of Chanalá and thenceforward always ordered my riding and pack mules from him when I went to Chanalá. It was necessary however to wait for about eight days before the beasts arrived.

The road leading from Riobamba eastwards runs on the first day through tracts which are comparatively thickly populated by Quichua-speaking Indians and mestizos. If one happens to make the journey during harvest-time, for instance in the month of August, one will everywhere see waving maize and barley fields, the most important cereals cultivated in Ecuador. On some fields the Indians may be seen harvesting, singing in chorus those peculiar harvest-songs which have been customary among the Quichuas since olden times and are believed to promote the work. The landscape is extremely picturesque and the ride over this highland, with snow-clad mountain-tops visible in all directions, and through the fertile Andean valleys offers much of interest. Late in the evening, after a ride of ten hours or more, the traveller arrives at Cevadas, a big village inhabited chiefly by mestizos, where he has to pass the night. This village forms the final limit between the relative civilization of the western mountain area and the desolate Paramo region, characteristic of the Ecuadorian highland in the east. The trail goes along the valley of the upper Chambo, a parent river of the Pastaza, [50] and is indescribably bad, like the whole way to Chanalá. Having traversed the valley, the

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 175 (1928-29)

traveller arrives in the evening at a village called Hatillo, or rather a collection of primitive grass-covered huts scattered over the Paramo. I have seldom seen a more God-forsaken place then this village, inhabited by a few families of wretched Quichua Indians. Hatillo being situated at a height of about 3,500 meters above sea-level, its inhabitants have to suffer all those inconveniences that the rude climate necessarily offers to people so poor and badly equipped for it as they are. The temperature generally remains near freezing-point, but not seldom sinks below it; the icy winds and rains mixed with snow which sweep over the paramo feel much colder here than elsewhere at a corresponding temperature. In the immediate neighbourhood of the dilapidated Indian huts rise bare and desolate rocks, some of them covered with eternal snow. Vegetation under such natural conditions must be the poorest possible; there are neither trees nor bushes, and cabbage and onions are the only edible plants which can be cultivated. The only resources of the inhabitants is the long and thick grass called ichu, which covers the ground in the paramo. It makes cattle-breeding possible to the Indians, and this as a matter of fact forms their only livelihood. From the milk of their cows and goats they prepare cheese which is exported to distant places, whence in return they obtain maize, potatoes, barley and other necessaries of life. Their dress is chiefly made of the skins obtained from their cattle and sheep.

I leave Hatillo on the following day, and having travelled for a couple of hours arrive

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 175 (1928-29)

at the spot where the paramo definitely ends: it is a pass at about 4,000 meters where the descent on the forest area begins. Just before the traveller reaches this pass he skirts a beautiful lake, Colay, attracting attention by the snow-clad mountains which surround it and especially by the tree-covered island which rises in its centre. It seems curious and inexplicable that only this spot for many miles round should show such a luxurious vegetation.

Up on the very summit of the pass to which we clamber, following a trail which is in the most miserable condition, we suddenly discern to the right another lake in a huge natural basin formed by the high walls of the rocks. It is la laguna negra, 'the black lagoon', 'bottomlessly' deep, we are told and with a strangely black-looking water. It is from this lagoon that the streamlets originate which later on form the river Upano. This point forms the end of the plateau of Hatillo and the threshold of the Oriente. The descent begins along the huge, almost perpendicular [51] declivity which is called Galgalań. The mountain is at this point divided by the hand of nature, a tremendous cleft having been formed into which we have to precipitate ourselves. The descent into the abyss is rendered possible for the beasts, and for man, only by deep steps cut in the rock. The mules, accustomed to these terrible trails, are able to go down this staircase, but the traveller has to dismount and allow his beast to get on as best he can. A few minutes later we are in the forest where the vegetation, extremely scanty at first,

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 175 (1928-29)

gradually becomes more and more luxuriant, although the climate remains quite cold down to Chanala. The first place one arrives at after leaving the paramo is a village called Suñac, which can be reached in five hours from Hatillo. The village is situated in a lonely tract on the high bank of the Upano and consists of several houses including a sort of church, which we recognize by the great bells hanging under the roof. Approaching nearer, however, we find all houses abandoned, their inhabitants living in Chanala four hours journey farther down the valley. The Indians of this region, who are closely related to those of Hatillo, live at Suñac only during the season when the potatoes are harvested, but otherwise prefer to live at Chanala which, owing to a warmer climate, is more suitable for the cultivation of maize.

Chanala is the last point to which mules can travel towards the east, but although this village can be reached in four hours from Suñac, it is the worst part of the whole journey. An enormously high cordillera separates the slope of Suñac from the valley of Chanala and has to be crossed. The climbing of this cordillera with its muddy, rocky, and slippery trail and its abysses yawning on all sides is a perilous enterprise even for the trained beasts of the Indians, and were it not for the steps cut in the rock and the outcroppings of sandstone at the most dangerous places, no mule or horse would ever arrive at the other side. After a hard struggle for a couple of hours we are on the top of the ridge and a while later cross a dangerous bridge leading to the opposite side of the Upano. The village of Chanalá is situated on the left bank of this river on a mountain slope covered with verdure, from which one enjoys the most beautiful view over the wildest scenery imaginable: the enormous abyss below from the bottom of which is heard the eternal roar of the Upano rumbling its way down to join the Mother of the rivers, adjacent forest-clad mountains reaching to the clouds, and the endless virgin forest extending as far as eye can reach, combine to give the traveller an impression he will not easily forget. But the village itself with its still chilly and humid climate, its primitive houses scattered here and there, and its extremely poor in-[52] habitants is not a place where one cares to stay any longer than is absolutely necessary. Still I had, as always, to wait two or three days before the five or six bearers I wanted for the continuation of my journey to Macas were ready to start.

It takes three days to reach Macas from Chanalá. The pathway which leads down to that last outpost of civilization towards the east follows at first the left bank of the river. After a few hours we pass over a wire bridge to the right side which we follow until the end of the next day, or until we arrive at a place called Huilca. Here there is the house of a ferryman, appointed by the government, whose duty it is to take travellers to and from Macas over the river. This house was in 1920 the only one existing between Chanalá and Macas, and the traveller was consequently obliged to spend the first night in the forest, in a provisional rancho made by the bearers. When

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 175 (1928-29)

I made my last journey to Macas in 1929, however, conditions had been improved so far, that a well-built tambo had been arranged by the government, where the traveller could shelter for the night. This was the only improvement I could notice after the nearly ten years I had been absent. The pathway was equally muddy and dreadful in every way, the slopes equally steep and difficult to climb, the bridges over the numerous swamps and rivulets equally primitive, consisting as a rule of two or three slippery poles placed at random on the ground on which one had to balance, always at the risk of missing one's foothold and sinking to the knees in the mud-holes.

From Huilca it is less than one day's march to Macas. A big hill called Yungalli, which takes two hours and a half to climb over, still separates the traveller from the plains of Macas. Having passed the Yungalli we embark on a final stretch of level forest land through which a broad road is cut, leading directly to the village. When the weather is fine and no rain has fallen for some days, this road is comparatively dry and is walked along with comfort after the miserable trails left behind; but when it is raining heavily, as is more frequently the case, it is transformed into a swamp where the wanderer has to wade in mud over the ankles."

1: Karsten--52-53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 175 (1928-29)

"Macas is an interesting village in more than one respect. It is situated on the middle course of the Upano, in a tract which curiously enough seems to have been more thickly inhabited some three hundred years ago than nowadays. Close to the place where the village is now there was formerly the big town Sevilla de Oro, mentioned before in connection [53] with the wars which the savage Jibaro Indians waged against the whites. The very name, Sevilla de Oro, tells us that the district must once have been rich in gold, and, as we have seen, the destruction of this town was caused by the greed for gold displayed by the Spaniards. To-day nothing is known of the existence of gold in this part of the Oriente. In the Upano, as in other rivers in Eastern Ecuador, gold is found but only in small quantities, nor is there any evidence that the present-day Indians know of any gold-mines in the mountains, although such rumours have sometimes been current."

2: Stirling--3-4 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 175

"The Jivaros first appear in history when the Inca, Túpac-Yupanqui, undertook the conquest of the realm of Quito about the middle [4] of the fifteenth century. The Peruvian conqueror undertook the conquest of the Cañaris, who lived in the interandine valley region, which corresponds to the Province of Azuay. The chroniclers say that the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas. Inasmuch as these two tribes were hereditary enemies, it would appear that this alliance was a temporary measure adopted for the purpose of repulsing the common enemy. The Inca succeeded, however, in conquering the Cañaris but was unable to penetrate beyond them. (3)

Huayna-Cápac, continuing the conquests of his father, again unsuccessfully attempted to subdue the Jivaros. His campaign was made difficult by the unfamiliar jungle country, combined with a type of climate to which his men were unaccustomed. Being continually harassed by the natives, he was finally forced to withdraw hurriedly from the territory of Bracamoros, which constitutes the basin of the Chinchipe River. Although completely driven out of their territory, he covered up his humiliation by declaring the Jivaros his subjects. (4)

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"3. González Suárez, 1878, p. 8, and Montesinos, 1882, ch. xxiii and xxvi.
4. González Suárez, 1890-1903, vol, I, p. 54."

2: Stirling--3-4 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

Not for long were the Jivaros left in peace to continue their customary fighting among themselves. The conquest of the Incas by the Spaniards simply meant a new adversary for the Jivaros.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were defeated, Don Pedro de La Gasca, in order to keep his soldiers from being idle, divided eastern Ecuador into four districts, whose conquest was entrusted to four of his captains. The first of these was the province of Quijos, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela. This province was bounded on the north by the provinces of Mocoa and Sucumbíos and was 200 leagues in length from east to west and 20 leagues wide from north to south. The second province was that of Macas, extending from the jungles of Gualaquiza to the Pastaza River, which was then known as the Tunguragua. The third was the province of Yaguarzongo, constituting the drainage basin of the Zamora River. The fourth was the province of Bracamoros, which included the drainage basin of the Chinchipe River. The last three of these provinces, excepting for the extreme southern part of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the territory of the Jivaro Indians. The conquest of Bracamoros was given by Gasca to Capt. Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarzongo to Capt. Alonso de Mercadillo, and that of Macas to Capt. Hernando de Benavente.

Palomino's expedition brought him to the valley of the Chinchipe, which is outside of the territory of the Jivaros. On this expedition he established the city of Jaen."

3: Stirling--5-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

## "THE BENAVENTE EXPEDITION

As a result of the expeditions of Mercadillo and Benavente the town of Zamora de los Alcaldes was founded in 1549. While Ecuadorian historians seem generally to credit the founding of this city to Mercadillo, the source information seems to indicate that it was either a joint effort of the two captains, or that it was founded by Benavente. When Gasca was leaving Peru on his return to Spain on January 27, 1550, he wrote on board his ship, the *Callao*: 'I left Captain Benavente populating another town in the province of Macas.' Benavente's account of his explorations indicates that Mercadillo's expedition and his own operated as a single party. Apparently no account by Mercadillo is known.

The Benavente expedition began sometime between August 15, 1549, and the end of the year. (5) Benavente evidently went over the pass at the head of the Chambo and Upano Rivers, crossing the divide at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and was the first of the Spanish Conquistadores to get in contact with the Jivaro Indians. He probably crossed the Paute River and the evidence indicates that the expedition penetrated as far south as Gualaquiza before turning back. (6) Benavente's account follows:

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"5. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, p. xxxviii.
6. Gonzáles Suárez, 1890-1893, vol. vi, p. 47."

2: Stirling--5-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

# ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MACAS BY CAPT. HERNANDO DE BENAVENTE(7)

My Eminent Sirs: * * * I entered the province of Suna (or Zuña), which was the beginning of the exploration and was a land of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Paira, which was eight or ten leagues farther on, in which there were about one hundred Indian houses, which at the time I was there had been evacuated. I tell Your Highness truthfully that we were almost dead from hunger because there was not enough food, since the country consisted entirely of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Moy (or Emoy) and Zamagolli (or Zumagalli), where there are but few Indians, but these gave us what we needed to eat. From there I sent a detachment to the province of Chapico, which they told me would be twenty leagues beyond, in order to see if there were Indians there and if it were good land. This province, I understood, is a land of great mountains and the Indians there go about naked. Those who had been there told me they saw two thousand Indians. There were one or more houses to each quarter of a league and in other places they were a half league apart and so it was all over the district. The food of the Indians consisted solely of fish, and seeds which they raised. There was plenty of food that they planted, such as maize among other things. The soldiers reported that they had two skirmishes. After seeing this province, they returned to me and there told me of another province six leagues

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" 7. Manuscript dated Tomebamba, Mar. 25, 1550."

farther on that was called Guallapa. The chief of this province with some Indians came to me peaceably and I received them as I was obliged to do and as Your Highness [6] commanded me. I traveled towards the province and, as I went, saw that likewise it was mountainous as were all the others that I had visited. The chief of that district was with me for eight days, giving us things to eat and describing what lay beyond, and at the end of that time I learned one night how he had elevated himself and his tribe and I tried to learn how many Indians were under him in that territory and found that he had about eight hundred men living in houses separated one from the other. Having seen this province, I started on the way to a district that the told me was called Xibaro, which was twenty leagues from Guallapa [sic], and in which, because of what the Indians had told me, I intended to establish a town; and before a day's journey was completed, I came to a very large river which they told me was that of Tomebamba (Paute) and that of Minas de Santa Bárbola, which I could not have crossed but for boats that we made there, and we crossed it without anyone being injured. Up to this point there had been nothing but very large mountains. And so, after crossing the river, I continued the march and two leagues from the place I found an Indian buhio, (8) in which some Indians were taken whose language and manner of speech was like that of the Malacatos, who were near the

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"8. An Arawak work applied to the native community house. These establishments are now generally referred to as 'Jivarías.'"

2: Stirling--5-8
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Paltas, because some Indians who were with me understood them. They told me that the land was called Xibaro, (9) and in that buhio those Indians told me that further on there were other buhios; and so I continued on the way; travelling by means of trails that were very ill-defined, I tell Your Highness truthfully that I frequently stopped to rest; thus moving along, I came upon other buhios which were more than a league from one another until arriving at other buhios, I realized correctly that we were where I wished to be and consequently did not stop. Continuing on, I encountered about fifty or sixty Indians, who, hearing me, fled into the mountains so that the dogs that I had with me were not able to capture any. I saw that they were naked. And still I marched and discovered smoke which was from their buhios that they had burned, and so it was in all that region, for they did nothing but burn their buhios and flee. Finally I arrived at the foot of a large rock covered with woods and thickets and from there I dispatched certain soldiers who discovered a trail on which they chanced upon some naked Indians, each with a lance and a round shield. Of these, they were able to capture only a man and a woman whom they brought to me, and being brought before me, I asked the man to tell me about the country and to explain where his chief was, to which he answered, why would I like to know? and that his chief was very powerful, and that if he captured me and the others he would probably kill us and drink with our heads and would probably sprinkle the roads with our bones; in

"9. Von Hagen told the writer that 'varu' is a common word ending in Palta, and suggested its combination with the Jivaro word 'ji' or 'jea' meaning 'fire people.'"

2: Stirling--5-6 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-5
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such manner that he did not desire to admit the truth of anything to me. I tell Your Highness truthfully that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have been exploring in the conquest of the Indies. Having seen that he did not wish to divulge anything nor to answer truthfully what I asked him, I attempted to see if he might talk because of fear and was as successful as before; and hoping that some Indians would come to where I was waiting, I spent eight days near that big rock, during which it did not stop raining one hour all day; and I swear to Your Highness that the horses, as though crazy, leaped around and, running through the camp and wallowing in the mire, eluded us, and because of the distemper which affected them in the [?] hoofs and feet, it was not advisable to hobble them; and everyone was breeding within himself the same sort of worms and any meat that we were able to obtain became filled with maggots. Finally, I tell you that it was the worst land that I have seen in all the days of my life, either in Spain or in all parts of the Indies in which I have travelled. Thus having seen how bad the land was and thatno Indians were apparent, I started to march again and moved along another twenty leagues, where I found a country in which everything was rainy and wet. Farther on, I found a second river very much larger than that I had crossed; both sides of the river formed a rocky gorge so that to look at the river from the top frightened one because of the depth from above. Having looked for a place for the horses to cross a league above and below on the river, it was found impossible. While there, I saw on the other side of the river about fifty Indians, all with their lances and slings and dressed in camisetas and mantas, and then they shot with bows and arrows which did not succeed in crossing from the other side. Having found out that the horses were not able to cross, those who had crossed the river brought to me the good news that crossing without horses, there would not be any place that we could go on foot and that we would not get anything accomplished and that it would result in our destruction, so I agreed with all my company that we turn back and our entrada should be by way of Cuyes or Zangorima, or some other way more convenient to the service of God and Your Excellency. It was thus decided by everyone and we withdrew with the intention of doing this.

I tell Your Highness that, according to what we were able to see, there are not one thousand Indians in all that land and province of Xivaro, and it consists of the wildest mountain land that I have seen and is very rough mountainous country, and the people of this province are all naked and very independent, according to the way it appeared to us. From the river of which I have just been speaking, we saw a range of mountains and through a gap in these mountains we saw a plain, and this I did think is all the news that we obtained because that region did not appear to be mountainous but rather savannahs. And so we returned to Guallapa, from which place we had departed. (10)

Having returned to Guallapa, Benavente discovered that the peaceful Indians he had left there had risen in rebellion against the soldiers, and his arrival had been barely in

"10. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. xxix-xxxiv."

time to settle this trouble. He speaks of the land beyond the gorge, which had forced him to turn back, and is very anxious that the King give him a commission to enter this country by the route that he had previously suggested. The chiefs of Tomebamba described this territory in such glowing terms as to make Benavente anxious to establish a town in the region, but as he says:

> I am so often disappointed by the stories of these Indians that I no longer give credit to any more than what I am able to see with my own eyes.

Benavente took 150 men with him on the expedition above described and explains that because of the bad nature of the land and the hostility of the Jivaro Indians these troops came out in very bad shape. Many of the Indians that he brought with him died as a result of the hardships, and 30 of his men deserted because of [8] the fact that the expedition had not succeeded, and Benavente had nothing with which to pay them excepting future promises; although he said:

> I give my word to Your Highness that I have given to the soldiers even the shirts of my clothing in order that they might enter this land again with me, whom Your Highness should thank.

Toward the end of the letter, Benavente gives information which would seem to clear up the confusion concerning the conquests of Mercadillo and himself. He says:

> The rest that I have to tell Your Highness is that the conquest which Your Highness has

given to Captain Mercadillo and to me is all one thing and one piece of information, for in order that we might serve you better and do as you command, we agreed to join his people with mine and we made one company, because he had too few people to explore such a very large section of country, and I likewise had too few; and for these reasons we did this and accomplished what I am telling Your Highness so that we could better achieve what Your Highness commanded us.

On the envelope which contains this letter is a notation evidently dictated by the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mendoza, notifying Benavente that all further entradas are to be suspended, this state of affairs to last until His Majesty gives further orders. This suspension of entradas and conquests was a general measure advised by Gasca. They were not again conceded until the viceroyship of Marqués de Cañete, D. Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza.

The results of Benavente's expedition, as is apparent from his account, were very meager. It is interesting that he gave the Jivaros the name by which they have since been known; this being the name applied to them by the Paltas."

2: Stirling--8-9 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
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"JUAN DE SALINAS

On November 10, 1556, as the result of an order from the King, the Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of the dominion of Peru, agreed to outfit Juan de Salinas for the purpose of exploring and colonizing the provinces of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros. It was agreed that Salinas be given a commission authorizing him to establish an encomienda of Indians in each town which he populated, from which he would profit after the usual Royal fifths had been deducted.

On November 19, 1556, Salinas began the task of recruiting and outfitting his army of exploration. The city of Loja was selected as headquarters for this purpose. He was engaged in assembling his expedition until July 8, 1557. Salinas states in one of his memorials that it cost him personally more than 50,000 ducats to provide arms, horses, clothing, and other necessary accoutrements for his men. [9]

The memorable expedition thus begun, continued until he had penetrated into the land more than 800 leagues and was not concluded until August 28, 1559. The description of this expedition, one of the most remarkable in the history of New World exploration, is contained in four letters written by Salinas in Spain during the year 1571, at which time he made a personal visit to the Royal Court in an attempt to straighten out the affairs of his Peruvian holdings. Several other letters and memorials by other writers verify the accounts of Salinas."

2: Stirling--9-10 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"The first letter of Salinas is dated June 10, 1571. In it he describes how he established the towns of Valladolid and Loyola in the interandine highland region.

Continuing his explorations beyond Loyola, he crossed with great difficulty 20 leagues of rough mountains, which he found to be entirely unpopulated. Making trails blindly in order that he might move his horses and cattle, he finally reached another inhabited section. Salinas says:

I came upon a valley in an inhabited land that was called Coraguana, a mountainous land but very productive of the foods that the natives use, especially of roots of a plant (11) that they use most and hold in greater esteem than maize; likewise there is much fruit and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and of the chase, especially of wild hogs and a small variety of deer and other animals called antas (tapirs), which have the size, appearance and even meat like an 8-months-old calf; the natives make use of other kinds of animals that have good meat and since the land is very mountainous there is an abundance of everything. The natives are different in language, dress, and customs from those of Loyola and Valladolid; generally, they have cotton plantations which they maintain and make use of to clothe themselves, although they do not make many clothes because the climate is warm. They are a very settled people and not very warlike as the people behind, and so in this valley and at the beginning of this land they appeared to me

"11. Manioc."

2: Stirling--9-10 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
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at once to be peaceful, and as I journeyed farther on the people were the same and I arrived at a level valley which they had already told me was called Giuarra, where the people and language were the same and because it appeared to me that there were a great many natives in the midst of this country and as a great many of the people with me were ill, I established a Spanish town in this place Giuarra, calling it Santiago de las Montañas because of having arrived at this place the eve of Santiago Day (July 24, 1557), which town it appeared desirable to change to a place deeper into the territory of the natives and so it was resettled on the banks of a river (12) carrying much water, which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon, which is the reason why I established it here in order that it might serve as a post for the continuance of the discoveries and explorations

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"12. This is obviously the present Santiago River. According to Juan Navarro de Beaumonte, one of the principal soldiers who accompanied Salinas, the second seat of Santiago was called Masquisinango. Salinas gave this river the name of San Bartolomé, because of having discovered it on this Saint's Day (Aug. 24). Formerly it was called Parossa by the Jivaros."

2: Stirling--9-10 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
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of the river below. In the vicinity of this town many gold mines were discovered, especially some mines that gave very good indications of [10] richness, and it is evident that they probably are. (13) This city of Santiago was about 40 leagues below Loyola; the Natives here likewise were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its chiefs or captains and, although they are not a warlike people, they carry on continual wars among themselves, killing and robbing one another. They did not keep llamas, although in this valley of Gibarra there were some. (14)"

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"13. The mines of Cangasa.
14. Salinas in Relaciones Geográficas, vol, IV, pp. lxv-ci."

"After Salinas had pacified the natives in this vicinity he assigned sections of the land to various encomenderos and gave the necessary commissions to maintain the establishment and then continued his voyage of exploration and colonization."

Farther on beyond the city of Santiago and the boundaries of the territory assigned to it we passed the river that they called Faen and Chachapoyas and Guánuco, which all now come together and become the Marañon, since all the rest are branches and the latter is the principal river. (15) I came upon a province and country that they called Congarapas, whose people, although they differ somewhat in language, correspond to those of Santiago because they are all nearly the same and the land is likewise, although here there are more savannahs and less mountainous land, especially where the natives have their habitations and cultivated lands. There are mountain ridges and plains and the climate of the region is very good and it is healthful and there is an abundance of all kinds of food as are used in the Indies, and fruits and fish in great quantitity, and game, and in general the water is very good; and deposits of salt, which they prepare artificially in great quantities with fire. There were llamas, although few, in this land and province and in the country nearby, although in order to clothe themselves they made use

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"15. Notwithstanding this, he says in another place that all these rivers together are called the Rio de Faén."

2: Stirling--10 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
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of cotton, which they had and which they planted and used generally. The natives of this country and province are very domestic and not by any means warriors or warlike, although they continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respected but each town and group had its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned. Twenty-eight or thirty leagues below the city of Sangiago in this territory in the most suitable part and in a very good location, I established a town that was called Santa Maria de Nieva. * * *

After pacifying the natives here, which Salinas says was little work because of their being good natured and domestic, he organized the town of Santa Maria de Nieva, as he had previous settlements. Leaving Nieva, with a picked crew of 54 of his strongest and most healthy men, he left the remainder to maintain the new settlement and continued his explorations. Ten leagues below Nieva he came to the junction of the Santiago and Marañon Rivers and then became the first European to make the passage of the dreaded Pongo Manseriche (pl. 29). After visiting the Mainas Indians, he continued down the Marañon to its juncture with the Ucayali. He then ascended the Ucayali to a point opposite Cuzco. Finally, after having been absent 18 months, Salinas returned by the same route to Santiago."

2: Stirling--11-12 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"The second letter of Salinas, probably written in 1571, brings in some additional details. After describing the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola whom he says are

> warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town has its chief and captains under whom they band together,

he describes their material culture and also the game and food plants of the region in considerable detail. Again he tells of crossing the unpopulated section between these mountain valleys and the beginning of the Jivaro country on the Upano River. He says:

This unpopulated and rough section lasted about 20 leagues, at the end of which I came to a territory settled by natives in the mountains, although there were sections of savannahs. They were a people different in language, dress, arms, and customs, and were very much more domestic than those behind. Their necessities of life and their fruits were the same; their garments and clothes of cotton; fish in great abundance in the rivers, and salt in great quantities produced artificially as well as occurring naturally like rock. I travelled more than 30 leagues through settlements of the nature of the aforementioned people without observing any difference in the language of one from the other, although they had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement.

which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner. At the the end of these 30 leagues travelled in a west to east direction, I populated the city of Santiago de las Montañas, which I believe is in six degrees latitude. It is 50 leagues from Loyola, a little more or less. The difference in their arms from those behind is that they have copper axes and shields of anta (16) skin and of wood, and spear throwers which they call estolicas. In this land there is abundant hunting of wild hogs, as well as antas (they are similar to cows), and deer and a hundred thousand other repugnant mountain insects and reptiles; they hunt big partridges like blind hens (Odontophorus cripturus sp.), turkey-hens (Crax sp.) and paugies, a very large bird with very good meat, and other birds of the pheasant type (Penelope sp.). There were some herds of llamas, although few, and doves, papagayos, (17) and cuys, (18) or the before-mentioned rabbits.

Having travelled for 30 leagues from the said city of Santiago by a northsouth course continually through the same group of people, having the same language, dress, arms, manner of livelihood, hunting and chase, fishing, salt and fruit for about 30 leagues, I populated the city of Santa Maria de Nieva, without the natives and all the other things

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"16. Anta =tapir.
17. Papagayos =macaws.
18. Cuys =guinea pigs.

differing much from those at Santiago. I think the said city of Santa Maria de Nieva was established in eight degrees latitude; outside of the fruits mentioned there are some that are called Almendras (19) because they resemble those here (20) and are even better; there are many very useful tree gums such as caraña, tacaamaca, and other gums that I don't remember; cacao of New Spain in great quantity. Gold was beginning to be taken in the rivers within the environs of said city, [12] although in Santiago there are many signs of great richness. The natives within the district of said city of Nieva have some llamas.

In the aforementioned city of Santiago, which is settled on a very great river, as I said, in which have come together all the waters and rivers from the city of Camora and Loyola, I named it the Rio de Sant Bartolomé, because I embarked on the river below to make the discovery on that day (Aug. 24, 1557). After having sailed 12 leagues north-south by it, I came to another very powerful river which I named the Rio de Faen, (21) in which came together all the rivers of Faen (22) and of the city of Chachapoyas (23) and that of Guanu-

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"19. Almonds.
20. Spain.
21. The same that later on and in the previous letter he calls the Marañon.
22. Chuquimaya, today Chinchipe, Cherinos and higher section of the Marañon.
23. Bahua, Bahuan, or Uteupampa."

co, (24) by which lower river I navigated for about 250 leagues west-east, until I arrived at a very great river (25) on San Miguel day (Sept. 29, 1557) and thus I gave it that name.

Salinas again describes the Mainas, of whom he says:

Their arms are darts and shields and throwing rods with estolicas, and some that are called macanas (26) which are the size of a broadsword, of palms.

The third letter is concerned more with political and controversial matters than with descriptions of the country, so it is not quoted here. The fourth letter, written in the third person, has more information of interest."

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"24. Huallaga or Rio de los Motilones.

25. Ucayali.

26. Wooden clubs.

2: Stirling--12-13 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
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"After crossing the Continental Divide he came upon 'a land settled with natives of pleasing appearance, of good climate, and full of all kinds of food, ' which aspect of said new land pleased him very much.

He continued travelling and discovering, passing many settlements and provinces and valleys, some uninhabited, for about 100 leagues, in the course of which and in the most suitable sections he settled four cities, whose names are, first Valladolid, second Loyola, third Santa Maria de Nieva, and fourth Santiago de las Montañas: the latter was settled and is situated on the bank of a very great river which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon. The natives of that province having given him good news of a well-populated land of great richness and good appearance on the river below, he determined to embark on said river in canoes with the group of soldiers that were most healthy, because most of the soldiers who had accompanied him in the work and discovery made up to then were suffering with some disease or affliction; and thus he left in said city of Santiago all of the horses and other means of conveyance, and the sick people and that which was necessary for the maintenance of said city and with only 54 soldiers he embarked on said river with canoes, determined and desirous of seeing and exploring said land of which he had good news. By navigating down said river, he encountered another very great river, at which juncture the waters made a great disturbance, and a big narrow pass (27) in the ridge of mountains through which the said rivers went, was passed with great danger and shipwreck with no less than great risk of lives, from which danger Our Lord delivered them, although with loss of munitions, arms, and some natives who were with them. Past the danger and said risk, which certainly was great, he came to a province of natives called Cipitacona, with a nose device not seen before. (13)Again the trip down the Marañon and up the Ucayali is described and the return to Santiago. Salinas says further:

The going and return and the voyage of discovery lasted almost 2 years, without being able to return any news concerning himself, and for this reason and the long delay, the group of Spaniards that he had left in the cities that he had populated, disheartened, believing him dead, as well as those who had gone with him, disbanded and fled and went to Peru, for which reason he was forced, on coming out, to refit himself with people and arms, for which he returned to the chief part of said land, and then came back to rebuild said four cities, which had been depopulated as a result of his long absence, and he populated them again; and having quieted and pacified the natives that had been in the district, and having discovered many gold mines to recount to His Majesty what had been occupying his time and the deeds he had accomplished. (28)"

"27. The famous Pongo Manseriche.

28. Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. xc-xciii."

"There is in existence a fifth letter written by Salinas after his return from the Court of Spain to Peru. In this document he says:

Following my return I have busied myself in establishing order and settling and sustaining the four cities that I left populated when I came to the Kingdom to salute Your Highness. In addition I have populated two more in suitable locations, one of which is called Logroño and the other Nueva Sevilla del Oro. In all of these, mines have been discovered and are still being discovered, which promise great riches and that the Royal fifths of Your Highness will be greatly increased; even though there should be no other reward for the work which has been put into them and the expenses incurred, that return would be large. (29)"

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"29. The date and place of birth of Juan de Salinas is not known for certain, but he was apparently a native of Cordoba. His legitimate parents were Martin Sánchez and Victoria Gómez. He came from Spain to Mexico, where he accompanied Hernando Cortés on his expedition to the Gulf of Higueras; he went with Benalcázar to Peru and was one of the first settlers of Lima, where he built a house and owned his own ground. Salinas was the third Spaniard to navigate the Marañon: the first being Orellana and the second Capt. Don Alonso Mercadillo in his expedition to the province of the Chupachos. He was a man of strong character and great determination. He planned large undertakings and carried them out with unusual perseverance under great difficulties. In temperament he was inclined much more to harshness than to gentleness, but it is quite possible that the cruelties against the Indians charged to him were exaggerated. After his great journey of exploration, during which he explored the Marañon and Ucayali Rivers, he returned to Spain in the year 1569 and remained for 4 years at the Court in order to solicit favors from the King and to obtain ratification of the concessions that the Viceroy of Peru, Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, had given him. Succeeding in this, he returned to America, where he spent the last years of his life amidst continuous difficulties. He was imprisoned in Quito, where he was implicated in a criminal trial in which the Audiencia charged him with being responsible for extreme cruelty to the Indians. Juan de Peralta, the Attorney General of the Audiencia of Quito, charged him with having had living Indians torn to pieces with greyhounds trained for the purpose, of having buried Indians alive in pits in which sharpened sticks had previously been placed, and of having burned them by setting fire to their houses, forcing them to die with their families. It was also charged that he ordered a pastry cook to pull out the teeth of the Indians, also had them put to death by impaling them with sharpened sticks, and had them tied naked on ants' nests so that they would be killed. Other cruelties of a similar nature were detailed in these hearings. However, Salinas was able to free himself from these charges and was restored to his former position of power. He established his residence in Loja, where, broken in health, he died in 1582, the last survivor of the Conquistadores of the Kingdom of Quito."

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"The city of Sevilla del Oro developed out of the settlement of Rosario. From other contemporary documents we are able to obtain more details than are given us by Salinas concerning the founding of the two new settlements which he mentions.

Espada tells us that Nuestra Señora del Rosario was founded on August 15, 1563, (30) in a great hurry, with the object of acquiring the right of possession of this territory by means of a deed consummated by Capt. Juan de Salinas Guinea, nephew of Juan de Salinas Loyola, because of the fact that the territory was outside of the government intended for the latter. However, the city did not prosper and was abandoned in a short time, excepting for a renegade population. The Audiencia of Quito attempted to clean out this bad element and to repopulate the city. In 1571 Capt. Alvaro de Paz was put in charge of the reorganization. The job proved too much for him and he was obliged to flee with his company.

By this time Salinas had returned from the Court of Spain, having satisfactorily terminated his efforts concerning his government of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros and concerning the favors that he considered he deserved by having discovered and populated the territory. Believing or pretending that he considered the territory of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was in his government and not in that of the Quijos, he commissioned Capt.

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"30. Probably near the present town of Macas on the Upano River."

2: Stirling--14 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
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Jose Villanueva Maldonado to repopulate it in his name at a location probably somewhat to the north of its first seat (31) and to rename it Sevilla del Oro.

Maldonado's account in the Archives of the Indies is as follows:

By commission from the Governor Juan de Salinas Loyola, * * * I collected a number of people in Cuenca and entered with them to said province, having outfitted the soldiers with me at my expense in order that they might enter more willingly and having entered said province and pacified the land, I populated and founded the city or Sevilla del Oro and divided the land, and 20 encomenderos lived in said city, married for the greater part; and there are in the province many churches and many gold mines."

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"31. North bank of the Upano River opposite the present town of Macas."

2: Stirling--14-15 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
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"Of course, Salinas' title was disputed and he later lost the territory.

Maldonado's account states that he lived in Sevilla del Oro more than 9 years after establishing it. Since this account was written in Quito on February 7, 1584, it seems apparent that the foundation of Sevilla del Oro took place in 1575.

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, inhabitant of Santiago de las Montañas, writing in Quito, January 26, 1586, says that he came to the government of his uncle, Juan de Salinas Loyola, and that at the [15] time his uncle returned from Spain he was made lieutenant general, remaining in this office until Salinas de Loyola died. He says that during this time he maintained all the land in peace without mutinies or scandals and in order to increase the Royal patrimony went to the province of the Jivaros with a new commission and with 40 men in order to explore that province where, after having suffered many deprivations, hardships, and losses of his goods, he established the city of Logroño(32) de los Caballeros on the Paute River, and having established it and pacified the inhabitants, and having treated them all well, they rebelled against the Royal service under the leadership of two half-breeds called Diego Lopez de la Banda and Francisco de Ro-

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"32. A manuscript letter of Juan Lorenzo Lucero dated Xeberos 1683 states that Logroño was first founded at the confluence of the Paute and Zamora Rivers and that 'today Pedro Espino de Caceres is missionary on that great river.'"

jas and they came to said city, killing in the outskirts of the towns all of the people that they found, numbering more than 40 men, until finally they came to said city and surrounded it, where the 12 men and the women who had remained in said city defended it as long as the siege lasted.

Maldonado, in his account made in Quito, February 7, 1584, states that while he was in Sevilla del Oro--

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, by order of his lordship Juan de Salinas, left and went to populate the city of Logroño in the Xíbaros country, which he did with the soldiers that Villanueva had and with their arms and ammunition and with them populated the city of Logroño; and said province being raided by the Jivaros and the Hon. Juan de Salinas being advised of it and having notified me of said raid and the death of seven Spaniards, said Villanueva sent hurriedly some Spaniards to aid said city of Logroño, because without such assistance said city would suffer great risk."

"Fernando de Montesinos, in his Anales del Perú, (33) quotes the following from original documents in the Archives of the Indies:

Year 1564--After many trials that Governor Don Juan de Salinas Loyola suffered in the pacification of his territory, he populated the cities of Valladolid, Loyola, and Logroño de los Caballeros, he appointed mayors and established regulations for them, put the Royal treasury in the city of Logroño which was nearest the Gibaros, the province richest in gold that he had discovered. He gave each Royal official 100 pesos of gold as salary from the same coffer. They enjoyed this benefit with much uneasiness since the Indians are warlike and rebellious so that they are very unsure of them. At the end of a year and a half, the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola killed the camp master, Francisco de Mercado (uncle of the wife of the governor), and 12 other soldiers. Capt. Juan de Alderete (brother-in-law of the Governor of Loxa) went to punish them with 30 soldiers and friendly Indians and attempted to make peace with the rebels but they would not permit it until after engaging in many battles, and finally, seeing the injury that was being done to them, they gave in peacefully and returned to rebuild the cities, so at once they reestablished Logroño. [16]

González Suárez tells us (34) that the soldiers sent for the defense of Logroño gathered

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"33. Vol. II, pp. 12-13.

34. Historia General , vol. vi, p. 79."

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together in a palisade which they constructed, where they remained for an entire year. They suffered so much want, that after sampling the leather on their shields without getting much nourishment from it, they were forced to kill and eat all of their watch dogs, which were greatly needed to warn them of the frequent sorties on the part of the Jivaros. The trail to Cuenca being held by the Indians, they finally succeeded in sending word down the river to Santiago. Juan de Cáseres Patiño, curate at that city, proceeded at great personal risk to their assistance."

## "THE JIVARO REVOLT

Unquestionably the source of much of the gold utilized by the Incas of the Highlands was in the rich placers of the Jivaro country. It is therefore not surprising that during the second half of the sixteenth century such strenuous efforts were made by the Spaniards to colonize this humid and jungle-clad region. If we are to trust the figures of the contemporary historians, many of these settlements became surprisingly populous, but although dignified by the name of cities, one should not lose sight of the fact that the houses were nothing but small huts built of cane and roofed over with thatch. The walls were of a light wattle-and-daub construction and in the entire region not a single solid or permanent structure was erected. Although these settlements were laid out in squares, with streets and the ground plan of a city, they were probably not very impressive to look upon.

During the first years of their foundation, at which time the Indians appear to have submitted in a docile manner to their encomenderos, the cities prospered and gave promise of great development. With the death of Salinas no one with sufficient strength of character or executive ability arose to take his place and from this time the decline of the Spanish settlements in the region was rapid. As the oppression and cruelties of the encomenderos began to make themselves felt the Indians grew more rebellious and the attitude of

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the wild Indians became more and more hostile toward the Spaniards. Successful revolts were carried out by the Indians in many places, they being favored by the nature of the country and the climate which was natural to them but unfamiliar to the Europeans. The cupidity of the colonists in the end resulted in the final destruction of themselves, of their settlements, and of their ambitious plans. The series of revolts carried on by the Jivaros culminated in the great uprising of 1599, which terminated in the complete destruction of Spanish rule in the Jivaro territory and enabled the Indians to [17] revert once more to their native customs and manner of life. The following is Velasco's account:

In 1599, the year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jivaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jivaros would not, and were about to resolve to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the River Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary, and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jivaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy, the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all Spaniards in that region on a certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and the other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learned that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant 25 leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jivaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Morona Jivaros intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (16 leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone toward Riobambo.

When the Jivaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; [18] when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor

Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12,000. Sevilla had 25,000 inhabitants; one-quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jivaros nearly destroyed the neighboring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force in the Indian country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jivaros as far as the River Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jivaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the others into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish Government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barks, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jivaros lay in ambush and destroyed the whole of the expedition. After 6 months those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He appled to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four. (35)"

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"35. Bollaert, 1863b, pp. 116-118. Translated from Velasco, t. III, p. 152."

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"The cities of Santiago and Nieva on the Santiago River apparently continued to be occupied by the Spaniards to a certain extent following the great uprising, but for 20 years Spanish activities in the Jivaro country were practically at a standstill. The descendants of the Conquistadores, however, never lost the idea of colonizing the region of the Santiago, and finally in the month of September 1619 the Governor of Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, went from the city of Santiago on an expedition with 68 soldiers and 3 priests on a new effort aimed at subduing the Jivaros.

This well-equipped expedition embarked in 22 large canoes on the Santiago River. Saabedra says that the river had a width of four-quarters of a ship (400 rods) at the city of Santiago. He continues:

It is very quiet and navigable. Scarcely traveling 10 leagues down the river, the Marañon is encountered which is very swift and powerful and, at the point of junction with the Santiago, it is the width of three-quarters of a ship, and together the two rivers continue their course to the Mar del Norte and, in a little less than half a league, begin to narrow and surge through the pass of [19]the Pongo, which constricts the torrent which leaves at that place the general range that crosses all of Peru, which range this river divides, passing with such fury that it is beyond description because of both rivers going through the pass of the Pongo which in places is only the width of one-quarter of a ship and in other places twice the width of a street. It is a league and a half long, so that one passes

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through in little more than an hour.

In this stretch there are three places where the violent turbulence of the water produces dangerous difficulties, the first two being due to currents exceeding the ordinary ones in the pass and which originate due to the water striking large rocks which project through the torrent in the channel, producing from one end to the other of these rocks huge whirlpools whose vortices extend across the river, in which torrents lie the danger, and in order to pass them it is necessary to wait when the river rises; and the last torrent, which is the most dangerous, the Indians call Marceriche [sic], because of the big jagged rocks which the river here divides, the top of which is barely visible when rushing through and the surface of the stream is composed of huge whirlpools and their vortices, caused by the river striking against the big rocks and one big one that is in the middle of the narrow channel where the river suddenly shifts direction and it takes a vast amount of energy to pass that point; and they call this latter Manseric because of the many small parrots that are on the rocks.

Through this pass went the governor and three leagues farther down the river encountered the first province of the infidel Mainas Indians which were subdued by the Royal Service for there must be about 800 of them without counting many that come every day from the river and lakes where they live. These gave the governor a good reception. (36)"

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"36. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

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"Saabedra describes how Vaca de Vega continued down the Marañon and up the Pastaza to Lake Rimachuma, being very successful in his dealings with these Indians and having no trouble with them. He then says:

The governor, having seen that there were sufficient Indians in these two provinces to found a city, determined to populate the city of San Francisco de Borja and so it was done in the name of Your Majesty below the Pongo and its pass, half a league from the general range on the left hand, on the Marañon River toward the west; a healthful land with good air and climate and a very good location. He founded it after considerable deliberation because the cities of Santiago and Santa Maria de Nieva of the province of Yaguarzongo are protected by it from the continuous assaults that the infidels are accustomed to make. (37)

Borja, the newly founded city, appears to have been inhabited for some time by a mixed population of Spaniards, mestizos, and representatives from numerous Indian

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"37. The account of Saabedra contains a very interesting description of the Mainas Indians under the heading 'Manner and nature of the Indians and their mode of living; fruits and sustenances supplied by the land of the Mainas, which land is reduced to the Royal Service.' Unfortunately, Saabedra gives us no account of the Jivaros.--Saabedra, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxliv--cxlviii."

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tribes of the region, including some Jivaros. When Vaca de Vega returned he was named Governor of the province of Mainas on condition that he pacify the Jivaros. However, he apparently made no move to do this."

"In May of 1645 his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who succeeded him in office, sent two Franciscan monks, Laureano de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, into the Jivaro country from Cuenca with a military escort under Antonio Carreño. This expedition resulted in complete failure, but it is interesting because it marked the first of a series of combined religious and military expeditions which enabled these attempts at subduing the Jivaros to be cloaked with a more commendable purpose than was the case with the purely military expeditions of the past.

During the early part of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing some flourishing missions in the regions east of the Jivaro territory, from which source numerous expeditions penetrated the Jivaro country with the avowed intent of converting them to the evangelical faith regardless of consequences.

In 1656 Don Martín de la Riva Aguero, governor of Cajamarca, organized a company consisting of 100 soldiers and an equal number of Mainas Indians from the missions of the Jesuit father Raimundo Santa Cruz. (38) The expedition followed the left bank of the Marañon to the junction of that river with the Pastaza and here on July 25, 1656, they founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, however, had a very brief career. The Jivaro Indians, who were promptly dressed by Father Raimundo in what he considered to

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"38. Chantre y Herrera, p. 176."

be a modest and proper manner, took the first opportunity to flee from the expedition. When they were pursued they killed a considerable number of Spaniards from ambush.

In 1690 Father Lorenzo Lucero, with a small squadron of canoes, made a peaceful entrance into the Jivaro country, hoping to persuade the Indians to submit to kindness rather than to the use of force. The Jivaros, however, had not forgotten the cupidity of Martín de la Riva and their unhappy experiences with that expedition and Father Lucero was unable to succeed in his attempt. The only result of this expedition was the establishment of a settlement in the Jivaro country which they named Naranjo. There was so little to hold it together, however, that the town soon failed and was deserted. (39)"

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"39. Chantre y Herrera, p. 283."

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"THE EXPEDITION OF DON JERÓNIMO VACA

In 1692 a very ambitious and determined effort was made to convert the Jivaros by force and by persuasion. The Indians, however, evidently had other ideas about the saving of their souls, and the failure of this expedition was as great in proportion as was the effort put forth to insure its success. By order of the Royal [21] Audiencia, Don Jerónimo Vaca, Captain-General of Mainas, accompanied by the Superior of the Jesuit missions, Father Viva, undertook the direction of this attempted conquest. Father Viva supplied the expedition with canoes and a picked army of his best mission Indians, consisting of Cunivos, Cocamas, Xeveros, (40) Cutinanas, Paranapuras, Muniches, Otanavis, Chamicuros, Aguanos, and Tibilos. The expedition was also manned by inhabitants of the town of Santiago and of Guallaga and the entire army, which now consisted of 900 natives and approximately 100 Spaniards, assembled at Borja. Each of the many groups of Indians represented were in command of their own missionary and each was armed in accordance with its own customs. The expedition had instructions from no less an authority than the Royal Court of Madrid to find out for once and for all the real truth concerning the richness of the alleged gold and silver mines which were supposed to exist in the Jivaro country. All of the missions had contributed liberally not only toward supplying

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"40. Not to be confused with Jivaros."

the expedition copiously with all sorts of foods and equipment but generous financial support was rendered by them as well.

The historian tells us:

Many people in the city of Santiago not far from the land of the Gívaros had high hopes for the successful conclusion of this entrada. Among them, the Vicar of the city, Don Isidro Moreno, a strict priest of exceptional demeanor, was very much pleased with the prospect of seeing the Gívaros conquered and he contributed his share to the conquest, offering as many supplies as he could without sparing expense, but the captain and the Spanish soldiers were not a little disheartened because of the sad experiences which they had had in the past with similar expeditions. (41)

The priests, however, bolstered the spirits of the soldiers by explaining that the company of Jesuits would cover the entire expense of the expedition and that the soldiers need not depend upon receiving anything from the Royal Audiencia, and so they set forth on this final great effort for the spiritual welfare of the infidel Jivaro."

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"41. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-304."

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"The chronicler continues:

Don Jeronimo (Vaca) having seen that everything was prepared, sent his orders to the army to assemble at Borja. This was done, although not without some difficulty because numerous canoes were cracked on account of the violence of the currents in the river which in some places are very turbulent. But finally having passed everything without special loss and having taken from San Ignacio de Mainas the best Indians of that nation, they came to the city of Borja, where they were received with many cheers and salutations because of being one of the best and most well-organized armadas that had ever been seen in that territory. The governor wished to assure the undertaking and, knowing very well that courage and prudence for those in the army must come from God, he commanded that, everyone having disembarked, [22] they come in military order to the church of the city where, kneeling before the Holy Sacrament, they made their vows, imploring the aid of Heaven on the trip. Encamping near the ciy, all of the army prayed for several days that they might pass without accident through the very dangerous gorge of the Pongo, because a flood came up that prevented the transit of the armada. They asked the Lord to lower the waters and, on the ninth day, they resolved to pass through, which they did without losing anyone because, although five of the canoes were overturned by the violence of the current, those who did not upset easily picked up the people.

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Having passed the gorge of the Pongo, the entire party of canoes entered the Santiago River, where General Vaca had embarked and was received with applause and joy by the soldiers. Upon passing through the city of Santiago they collected new provisions, and having done this, they took the direct route to the former town of Naranjo, having sent ahead some canoes of Xeveros and Cunivos, who, being more skilful in fishing, caught as many fish as they could for the army. The squadron having arrived at a place called Cusahu in the Gíbaros territory, the General decided that some Spanish soldiers with some 30 Xeveros should disembark and reconnoiter the country, which party succeeded in capturing 21 Gíbaros, by virtue of surprising them while they were celebrating noisily a solemn drunken feast, because of having killed two famous wizards, whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering. As they had not been able to capture the rest of the Gíbaros who were bathing some distance away in the river, these latter promptly spread the news to the whole nation which rebelliously armed itself, collected together all their belongings and carried those people unfit for war to their inaccessible hiding places. The Spaniards camped between a ravine and the Santiago River and in 3 days had fortified themselves in this place with a palisade and counterscarp made from sticks and straw, which although it was not perfectly solid, was sufficient to impede the blows of lances, the weapon used by the Gíbaros. All of our force consisted of 900 Indians, each armed according to the custom of his tribe, and not quite 100 Spanish soldiers in whom, because of the superiority of firearms, was principally placed the hope for the subjugation of the Gíbaros. This purpose would have been accomplished if the Indians had come to a decisive battle; but far from pitting their arms against ours in this manner, they followed the mannor of warfare which they had learned on other occasions to be most advantageous. They did not appear gathered together in a large body, but in small groups without order, but in advantageous places, and when they saw the conflict going against them, they fled through rough ground where they could not be followed. Our men left the camp in various companies, some Spanish soldiers always accompanying the Indians, and they made various expeditions in all directions and they even penetrated almost up to the city of Zamora of the other band of Gíbaros; but the result of these expeditions was so slight that it was soon seen that it would be impossible to subject that nation strongly fortified in their impenetrable mountains and hiding places in caves, if they did not come out of hiding.

In brief, during the 5 months that this expedition lasted, only 372 people were captured, in reality a very small result when the great preparations are considered, the number of people taking part, and the long time that was spent in this much-talked-of expedition. It should not be omitted that various captives were the result of the diligence and efforts of the missionaries who attracted and won these over by their good manner and kindness. The children were immediately baptized and the people sent to the city of Borja and to the [23] Concepción of the Xeveros; but as a result of carelessness during their transportation, some of the more daring ones escaped and returned to their lands. The army, suffering now from hunger, depleted by illness, and diminished by the death of several who fell into the hands of the enemies, was disbanded and each section with its respective missionary took the path to its own land without having even begun the conquest of the Gíbaros, who were made strong by their rough country and rocky cover from which some of the most courageous emerged from time to time always leaving those people useless to them behind in safety. Regarding this the Spaniards noticed a remarkable thing which they admired very much. The mothers in order that they would not be discovered and in order to free themselves from encumbrances would hang their children to trees fearing that the cries of the children would give the Spaniards some indication of their secret hiding places. (42) The expedition served a certain purpose in that it enlightened those who thought that force of arms would be sure to succeed in that territory particularly when uniting the missionaries with the soldiers But the Spaniards were so far from

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"42. González Suárez adds the following: 'The Givaros violently taken from their native farms, either fled or committed suicide: Mothers killed their own young children, purposely choking them with dirt or with dirt or with mud and stones.' Suarez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, p. 204."

succeeding in the subjugation of the Gibaro nation that the principal result of their undertaking appeared to be that they had succeeded in nothing more than discovering a way by which it was possible to travel to the city of Cuenca. (43)

When the disastrous results of this attempt were brought to the attention of the Viceroy of Peru he issued an edict prohibiting similar military forays in the future."

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"43. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-307."

"THE LATER JIVARO MISSIONS

The Jivaros were left undisturbed for a long time. It was not until 1767 that a new attempt at their conversion was made. In this year the Jesuit father, Andrès Camacho, went along into the country around the headwaters of the Morona, where a large group of Jivaros had established themselves. He also visited others on the Santiago River and still others between the Morona and the Pastaza. Father Andrès gained the friendship and confidence of the Jivaro chief Masuthaca, and because of the friendly manner in which he conducted himself seemed well on the way to making considerable progress with his plans. He succeeded in baptizing about 200 children. However, just at this time the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies and, as a result, his efforts came to naught. (44)

The missions which had thus been launched were turned over first to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. It appears, however, that no progress was made by the missions and the period was principally one of decadence and disorganization. [24]

During the time that the Jesuits from their eastern missions were attempting to con-

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"44. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 574-577."

vert the Jivaros the Dominicans were trying to do the same thing from the west. The Dominican convent of Quito sent out four priests in the year 1581 into the territory of the Jivaros and the Canelos. Valentin de Amaya traveled down the right bank of the Pastaza while Baltazar Quintana explored the left bank of the river. Diego de Ochoa and Sebastian Rosero penetrated into the mountains of Penday and Poya near the source of the Pindo River. During the year 1581 the town of Canelos was founded at the mouth of the Pindo and missionary work was started at this point. However, the Spaniards were continually harassed by the attacks of the Jivaros and it became necessary to change the location of Canelos twice. It was finally established on the left bank of the Bobonaza on the spot where it exists at the present day. (45) This mission was officially turned over to the Dominicans by Charles II in 1683 but it did not progress, and by 1778 it contained only 22 converts.

About this time Father Santiago Riofrío arrived, and under his administration the mission began to make headway. He succeeded in adding three small villages to the territory of the mission in 1789. These were Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Jacinto, and San

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"45. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, p. 134, cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 345."

Carlos de los Achuales. (46) In 1803 the Dominicans relinquished control of the mission and it was placed under the Bishop of Mainas.

During part of the eighteenth century the Dominicans attempted to expand the mission at Macas, but with little success. In 1736 Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, acting under instructions of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, began work among the wild natives of the region but succeeded only in introducing smallpox to them instead of Christianity. The Indians, having no resistance to this new disease, suffered terrible fatalities and the survivors fled. (47)

In 1785 Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, Corregidor of Loja, by order of the President of Quito, dispatched an expedition to Zamora and vicinity. (48)

With the expulsion of the Jesuits and the dawn of the nineteenth century the series of attempts at the conversion of the Jivaros temporarily came to an end. For more than a century they had resisted the moral persuasion of the priests as successfully as they had the firearms of the Spanish soldiers."

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"46. González Suárez, Historia General, vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

47. Compte, p. 55.

48. According to González Suárez, the diary of Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta contains considerable information of an ethnological nature concerning the Jivaros living in the vicinity of Zamora. This account, which is apparently still unpublished, also contains a map of the region showing the site of Zamora at that date as lying to the east of Loja."

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"During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there arose a rumor that there was a rich treasure concealed in the ruins of the old city of Logroño, destroyed during the uprising of 1599. It was also believed that, could these ruins be relocated, it would be possible to again discover the placer mines in the vicinity, which in legend had grown to be fabulously rich. The expeditions which went into the Jivaro country during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries were inspired with the hope of discovering these treasures. The invasions usually were thinly cloaked as missionary efforts for the conversion of the Indians.

In 1788 and 1789 expeditions were dispatched in search of Logroño by the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. It was hoped also to discover an easy path from Cuenca to the territory of the Mainas missions, with the idea in mind of opening this country to exploitation. These expeditions located some ruins which were evidently an archeological site of aboriginal origin but which they mistook for the ruins of the old city, and the rumor was kept alive.

The most interesting of these treasure-hunting parties was organized in 1815 under the direction of a Dominican friar, José Prieto, who conducted an expedition to the spot where Logroño was supposed to have been founded. Prieto proceeded to the mountains of Gualaquiza, where he was received in a friendly manner by the Jivaros, and he succeeded in baptizing some of their children . Having thus began the work of conversion, he took the opportunity to establish a small settlement and here founded the town of Gualaquiza, 1 league from the confluence of the Bomboiza River with the Paute of Santiago. He was encouraged in this effort by the Jivaros, who were motivated by a desire to obtain free European trade goods and other favors from the Europeans. The Indians told Prieto that the location of Logroño had been carried down to them by tradition transmitted from fathers to sons and pointed out to him some orange trees, saying, 'here lie buried the whites, your ancestors.' (49) Prieto's article, 'Descripción de la provincia de los Jivaros, su religión, costumbres y producciones', was the best ethnological account of the Jivaros prepared up to this time. (50)"

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'49. González Suárez had in his possession the diary of Prieto written during this expedition which contains among other things a detailed plan of the ruins which he found at the junction of the Bomboiza and the Sangurima Rivers. It is obvious fromthe description that these are of pre-Columbian origin."

50. Prieto, in Compte, pp. 63-68."

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"Following this period, the political disturbances in the South American colonies and the various wars of independence practically brought to an end further attempts at penetration into the jungle country of the Andes. The Jivaro were left in peace until about the [26] middle of the nineteenth century, at which time the missionaries renewed attempts at their conversion.

In 1848 Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza but did not have much success in his mission."

2: Stirling--26 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
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"In November of 1852, Fray José Manuel Plaza, Bishop of Cuenca, being desirous of colonizing Gualaquiza, set out for the region of the eastern Andes in spite of the fact that he was more than 80 years of age. He spent about 5 months among the Jivaro Indians on the Zamora and has described his expedition in a report to the Ecuadorian Minister of State, dated April 9, 1853. After describing the natural resources of the Gualaquiza region, he says:

The Indians called Jivaros live in Chuquipamba and principally on the banks of the Zamora up to the point where the Chicani are found, this being the place which serves as a port of embarkation in coming from Loja and which is 5 days from Gualaquiza going up and only 2 coming down. The Jivaros live in that complete natural liberty which is so lamentable to the body as well as to the soul, since from it arises polygamy without the vigilance and toil of the priests being able to restrain it, resulting from this a repugnance towards embracing the Christian religion and consequently a state of slavery and abjection for the women, victims of the pleasure, incontinence and libidinousness of the men; one can well affirm that these three passions form the distinct character of these infidels.

Their dwelling, which they change every 6 years at the most, is exactly elliptical in shape, it holds several families and each one occupies a kind of berth made of Gadua bamboo-cane, in which one sees a blowgun, a lance, a shield, some feather ornaments, black seeds, and four to six leashed dogs. Round about this house there is a plantation

2: Stirling--26 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

of yucca, bananas, cotton toquilla, and guayusa. They abandon the house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink, and the house closed and remains closed and no one ever returns to live there; which proves according to them the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, the judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ikuanchi. Their language is poor and contains many quichua words; their numerals only reach as far as four and in order to express a greater quantity they make use of the digits of their hands and their toes. As descendants of the old rebels of Logroño they preserve the maxim of not fighting as a unit but scatter throughout the woods and reduce their tactics to treachery. Their clothing consists of a skirt that covers them from the waist to the thigh.

There are about 40 groups of houses dismantled between Gualaquiza and Yumasa, maintained by 12 people, men and women who have remained notwithstanding the terror that the infidels inspired in them. (51)

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"51. Letter of D. Fr. Manuel Plaza dated Apr. 9, 1853, in Compte, pp. 293-299."

2: Stirling--26-27 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"It does not seem advisable to attempt to outline the many accounts of travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions into the Jivaro country during the second half of the nineteenth century, but it will be of interest to indicate in a sketchy manner missionary work which contined during this period. [27]

In the year 1869 the Jesuits were again permitted to return to their old field in eastern Ecuador. Missions were established at Canelos and Macas which had been taken over from the Dominicans. Other establishments were begun at Gualaquiza and at Zamora. In 1869 the Jesuit fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán began their work at Canelos. The following year Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Of the old missions, only Zamora was abandoned. In 1873 militant uprisings of the Jivaros forced the abandonment of Gualaquiza and in 1885 Macas suffered the same fate. On October 4, 1886, the ecclesiastical authority again intervened, and the missions of Macas and Canelos were taken away from the Jesuits and given to the Dominicans, so that the Jesuit order was once more completely out of the Jivaro country.

In 1893 the Franciscans took charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group, who have operated their missions in this territory to the present time.

In the year 1902 the first Protestant mission was established in Jivaro territory when the Gospel Missionary Union of the United States established a mission on the Upano,

2: Stirling--26-27. (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

where it was operated under the direction successively of Mr. Freeland, Mr. Olson, and Mr. Eamigh. At present this mission is located at Chupianza, on the Upano River between Mendez and Macas.

Attempts at the establishment of any sort of military posts within the Jivaro country have failed in modern times as completely as they did in the past.

In the year 1865 the Peruvian Government reestablished the agricultural colony at Borja. The attempt to found this colony started very auspiciously. Entire families were collected and embarked up the Marañon on river steamers which it was intended would be run on a 6 months' schedule in order to furnish them with food and necessities after they had established new homes until such time as their crops materialized. The foundations of the town were laid, the first houses built, and the first crops planted. At the end of 6 months the steamer arrived to find a flourishing community of about 100 people. Six months later the boat returned to find nothing but charred ruins. They had been visited by the Jivaros from above the Pongo. (52)

The latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries was the period of the great rubber boom in the Amazon basin. In place of gold seekers the Jivaro country was invaded by unorganized groups searching for wealth in the form of wild rubber."

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"52. Up de Graff, p. 171."

2: Stirling--28 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175

"These cosmopolitan adventurers left few records of their contact with the Jivaros, but they made no attempts at permanent settlements. With the collapse of the rubber market, they soon left the region. Comparatively speaking, the first of the present century has been a quiet period for the Jivaros with respect to alien invasion.

During the last part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries the Jivaros occasionally made forays as far downstream as the Peruvian post of Barranca below the mouth of the Morona.

In 1915 a Peruvian garrison on the upper Morona was attacked by the Jivaros and practically the entire garrison was killed. In 1925 the village and mission of Cahuapenas on the Apaga River was completely wiped out by an attack of the Aguaruna Indians. In 1928 there were further encounters between the Huambizas and the Peruvians and many of the Indians were killed."

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

> were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

> They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

> They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

2: Stirling--38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 175, 721

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

2: Stirling--43 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 175, 721

"We know, however, from many early descriptions, that the Jivaros were as active in their head-hunting raids in early times as they are at present and, from the meager descriptions which have been left us, it would seem as though their manner of conducting these blood feuds has changed but little with the passage of centuries.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 concerning the Jivaros of the Santiago River, says:

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of the chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and take the heads of their enemies * * *. Their chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died * * *. They used to receive much harm from all the neighboring Indians before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them because of being a very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes that often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they travelled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains.'(59)

A few early observations on the Indians of the higher valleys west of the Jivaro country are interesting because of the similarity they show to the customs of the Jivaros. In 1571 Salinas says of the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola that they are---

warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect but each town has its chiefs and captains under whom they band

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"59. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. 36-37."

together. (60)

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of Valladolid, writing in 1582:

They do not have chiefs but the most courageous is chosen as leader and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs * * *. Parties of about 100 men and 100 women work together in the gardens until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because having sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought on others. (61)

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"60. Relaciones Geográficas, p. lxvi.

61. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, p. 42."

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"In 1682 Lucero, who accompanied the expedition of Diego de Vaca, described the methods of fighting by the Jivaros in the following account.

The Jivaros appear formidable at first sight because their robust, tall, and well-proportioned bodies give them an advantage over many tribes on the great Amazon River; their lances and shields are not like those of ordinary men but of giants; their garment is so long and ample that it reaches their feet and is encircled with a belt a palm wide, very well made of hair, in such a manner that this long skirt can be drawn up through it so that it only reaches the knees, enabling them to climb their ridges with ease, carrying in the part of the garment hanging over the girdle many stones for some purpose or other. Their head is encircled with a red band in the form of a wreath, all decorated with spangles of shell which was showy workmanship and pleasing to see. Seeing many Jivaros together produces an agreeable sight; however, in keeping with what has already been referred to, his arrogant mode of speaking and his fierceness, even though he had no other adornment, would be sufficient to make him known as a haughty son of the mountains * * *. The sharpened blades with which they tip their lances are of bones taken from men whom he has killed from ambush, a prize among them of inestimable value because he who carries it gives to all in the region authentic testimony that he has commited murder, or Ayumba, which is the same thing. Their houses are large and are all in the wilderness because each family lives apart; the reason for living thus being that they are all treacherous and kill each other without abatement except for the women, whose number alone increases their force; and thus they observe only the law which says, he lives who conquers, and for this reason no one trust another, for experience with so many fatal results has shown them that he who trusts his best friend dies without recourse, and it has been demonstrated that the women of the dead belong without any question to the murderer, besides which he needs other means in his possession to show the blood on the lance and to dance with the head in a joint festival of Ayumbas, in which the drinking runs in proportion to the amount of manioc turned into very strong wine, so whose who become intoxicated undertake new expeditions to kill others; and as similar excesses follow one another and are continued without fear, either to chief or cacique (whom they do not have) [sic]; they live so well armed and keep such careful guard that it seems a miracle to a Spaniard that any escape in their houses; because, since they live on such high ridges, those who climb up to them by slow degrees and with much work are necessarily discovered, there being, as I have said, sentinels posted on all such advantageous places. It appears from what I have said before that on the first rumor of a Spaniard the word went almost at once through all of the province, and then there was a general truce between Xibaro and Xibaro, considering the Christian their greater enemy, against whom they joined together hoping to [47] ambush them in the roughest part of their trails. The Christians, not knowing of the hatred, died without

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 721

warning.

In the narrowest and highest part of the ridge they set up good-sized stones held by supports made of sticks fastened with vines, which being cut, the stones being free fall heavily on whomever might be below and break them to pieces, those who are coming up being unable to help themselves; then the Xibaros without fear of injury or of falling into the hands of his enemies get down behind the stones, so that they appear as if they were part of the roadway itself. They rush down then to compete against each other to see who will be successful in returning with the greatest load of heads, but when the sides of the narrow roadway were grown with thick tree trunks the Christians protected themselves behind them, remaining so free that the Xibaros who came down blindly, eager for heads, found themselves prisoners of those they had considered dead.

And when they fell into the hands of Christian Indians, not only did they find themselves prisoners but also cut to pieces, the Spaniard being careful to defend them from our Indian friends, which fact the Xibaro knew so well that when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards he knew his life was safe, and on the contrary, when he fell into the hands of Indian friends; and for this reason if he is able he calls in the Indian language to the Spaniards, saying many times: 'Apache', when they wish to say Spaniard. (64)

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"64. Lucero, p. 27."

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-4
116, 175, 721

It is of interest to compare Lucero's account with the following description of the Quijos written in 1577 by Diego de Ortegón:

> They do not form a great state or an organized nation; each section is governed by itself; and, when they go to war, they elect for leader the most valiant and courageous among the caciques, and his command lasts the duration of the war, no longer; their arms were wooden lances, shields, the macana, and javelins. They cut off the heads of their enemies and they arrange them on stakes stuck in the ground, around their houses * * *.
>
> As expedients against their enemies they made use of big stones, which, having tied them with vines, they suspend them from the sides of the hills over the narrow and uneven trails; their enemies passing unsuspectingly they then cut the ties and the stones fall with violence, bounding and knocking down in their path as many as they strike on the trail: a manner of warfare very terrible and disastrous, of which some of the soldiers of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda were victims. The thickness of the vegetation contributes to making the danger more serious, hiding from sight that original method of warfare. (65)"

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"65. González Suárez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, pp. 58-59."

2: Stirling--47-48 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"Concerning the warlike customes of the Jivaros, Prieto wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> Their inclination to make cruel and ferocious war on their fellow creatures distorts and obscures all their good qualities to such a degree that the Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel enemies in all the world. Traveling from mountain to mountain, from forest to forest, from river to river, looking for other infidels like themselves in order to take their lives and dance with the heads of the dead is what most amuses, delights, and enraptures them. In order to satisfy this ferocious custom, hardships, nakedness, long trips, hunger, and whatever one might imagine, does not hinder them, as they aspire to no other [48] glory nor greater happiness than to merit the name *Cocarama*,(66) as the continuous wars which I myself have observed demonstrate; and thus it happened in my time when I was Cura-Doctrinero of the town and mission of Canelos, during the years previous to my arriving at this parish, that the town of *Copataza* was annihilated, and at the same time the town of *Palma* in the time of M. Rdo. P. Santiago Riofrio of the order of Predicadores, my predecessor in Canelos. In my time these same Jivaros of Gualaquiza, Bohboisa, and Zamora, together with the Jivaros who lived on the Paute River in the vicinity of Macas,

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"66. The Jivaros called the brave ones and those who had proved their valor by killing many people, *Cocarama*."

2: Stirling--47-48 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 721

made various forays on the other side of the Pastaza River, where they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them * * *.

Their dances are a horrible abomination and make even those with much courage and spirit afraid upon seeing them. A few years ago they sacrificed all the Christians of the new Zamora near Loja to this wicked end. Among those suffering the same fate was Don Julian Eguiguren, a native of Spain, who was in the town of Zamora when the revolution of the Jivaros occurred. Two months before I entered this conquest, a horrible battle occurred between the Nantipas Jivaros, who live on one of the rivers tributary to Zamora, and those who live in the vicinity of the Pongo Manseriche; also another battle between the latter and the Pafocamas, who live on the headwaters of the Marañon near Jaen. Also the Jivaros of Mayalico and Suinde are preparing to wage a cruel war against the Jivaros of the great Achual near Canelos. (67)"

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"Prieto, in Compte, pp. 65-66."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Several of the sixteenth century travelers in the Jivaro country refer to the practice of these Indians of taking heads and dancing with them, but the first to attempt a description of the actual process of their preparation was Prieto, writing in 1815. Prieto, who made an expedition in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Logroño, [67] became well acquainted with the Jivaro Indians. Concerning the preparation of shrunken heads, he says:

> * * * they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them, which was done in this manner: When they have killed the infidel, they cut off his head from his shoulders and take out the interior, leaving only the neck, the hair, nostrils and ears; then they introduce hot stones, and thus keep it 20, 30 or more years in some earthenware jars, from which annually they take out many heads in order to dance with them and celebrate for 15 days the anniversary of their victories, preparing beforehand with many foods and beverages. (92)

Among the writers of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century, the first to give a brief description of Jivaro tsantsas was Villavicencio. Writing in 1858, he says:

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"92. Prieto, in Compte, 1885, p. 65."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

In their wars these Jivaros are accustomed to cut off the heads of their enemies and to carry them home with them in order to have a celebration with the skin of the face and scalp which they remove intact and dry by moulding it with hot stones; they strip the long hair from their enemies in order to make braids and tie them to their naked waist, for the purpose of showing their courage and to terrify the enemy. (93)"

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" 93. Villavicencio, 1858, p. 361."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Europeans first became acquainted with Jivaro shrunken heads in 1862 when Maiz presented before the Anthropological Society of Paris an example which had been sent to him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. The specimen was said to have been found in an old tomb located in the territory between the Chinchipe and Pastaza Rivers. The repost of this meeting of the society is interesting as it gives a very good idea of the type of speculation concerning tsantsas which has characterized discussion on the subject even among scientific bodies. In describing the example, Maiz said:

> Simple inspection of this head makes it clear that these Indians were very skillful in the art of taxidermy. They have removed in a single piece all of the skin of the face and of the cranium and of the upper part of the neck; then they have desiccated it with so much skill that it shrank uniformly so that the head became in volume the size of that of a newborn child, still preserving perfectly all of the contours and even small features of the face.(94)

After expressing the opinion that Peruvian mummies were often preserved naturally by burying them in the dry sands of Peru, he quotes Dr. Lorente's opinion that the Indians 'make in the hot sands of their countries some pits where the corpses are buried for some time in order to be exhumed later.'

"94. Moreno-Maiz, 1862, pp. 185-188."

2: Stirling--67
116, 175, 727

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro-2

He then misquotes Villavicencio as saying that---

The skin is dissected and separated from the bone and put on molds of earth, where it is baked and dried at a high temperature."

"At the conclusion of Dr. Maiz's presentation different members gave opinions on the procedure of preservation. M. de Quatrefages thought that some pieces of skin had been removed and that thus was explained the small size of the head. M. Broca remarked that this explanation could not hold because the slightest trace of an incision would be visible on the surface of the skin. M. Trelat believed that an exterior mold must have been employed, desiccation in the free air or by artificial heat never permitting such perfect preservation of form. M. Gratiolet said that chemical action had been necessary, without which the dermestes would have invaded and destroyed the skin at the end of a short time.

The following year, 1863, Bollaert described a tsantsa which had been secured by José Felix Barriero and sent to Bollaert in 1860. Barriero sent a letter with the specimen in which he briefly described the process of preparation as follows:

> After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims, a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process. (95)"

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"95. Barriero, in Ballaert, 1863a, p. 112."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Barriero's description of the ceremonies carried on in connection with obtaining the tsantsa are more complete than his description of the method of preparation. Bollaert apparently was not convinced of the accuracy of Barriero's description, for he says later:

> A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mold of clay. (96)

In the same year, 1863, Merritt presented two examples before the American Ethnological Society of New York, which with eight others had been obtained in the vicinity of Macas. Merritt says:

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"96. Bollaert, 1863a, pp. 114-115."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

> There is a tradition among the Indians, that these heads were originally taken from 'Huacas' (97) belonging to their ancestors, many generations ago, and that since they have been kept in their huts, preserved with great veneration, and jealously guarded as household divinities.
>
> How these heads in question were contracted to such a diminutive size, I can only repeat rumors; one is, that they were contracted by hot stones or pebbles, which were put into the cavity of the head after bones were removed; another is, that they were contracted by a process which occupied a year.(98)

After quoting from Bollaert's article, he describes in detail the specimens in his possession. In this account Merritt expresses the opinion that the tassels depending from the lips of the tsantsas may have some connection with the old Quipu records of Peru.(99)

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"97. Tombs. It is evident that the practice of burying trophy heads with their owners was commonly practiced in ancient Peru as described earlier in this chapter. The Jivaros appear now to have abandoned the custom. If Karsten is correct regarding the motives in preparing tsantsas this would seem to indicate a different attitude in earlier times.

98. Merritt, 1863, p. 13.

99. Merritt, 1863, pp. 14-16."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 727

From this time on, descriptions are so numerous that it would be impracticable to mention them all. Both Rivet and Saville give lengthy bibliographies of the literature referring to shrunken heads, where most of the later references may be found. (1)"

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"1. Rivet, 1907; Saville, 1929."

2: Stirling--80
116, 175, 411

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Jivaro

"During the writer's investigations he noticed that the blowgun, now the most striking and characteristic weapon of the Jivaro, is never mentioned by the sixteenth century writers. This is of special interest when we observe that later writers have been particularly impressed by its occurrence and never fail to speak of it. This fact led to an investigation of early records in other regions of South America in an attempt to discover from which direction this weapon reached the Jivaro. The only instrument at all comparable which is mentioned in the sixteenth century is the pea shooter or pellet gun of Mexico and Central America. This simple device, which was little more than a toy for shooting small birds, is a far cry from the elaborately manufactured, complex blowgun, shooting long-range piercing darts made effective by the use of poison. The earliest reference to the true blowgun found by the writer is in Saabedra, who in 1620 describes the blowgun with poison darts in use among the Mainas on the Morona, who were the first of the eastern Andean tribes to be missionized."

## "THE BENAVENTE EXPEDITION

As a result of the expeditions of Mercadillo and Benavente the town of Zamora de los Alcaldes was founded in 1549. While Ecuadorian historians seem generally to credit the founding of this city to Mercadillo, the source information seems to indicate that it was either a joint effort of the two captains, or that it was founded by Benavente. When Gasca was leaving Peru on his return to Spain on January 27, 1550, he wrote on board his ship, the Callao: 'I left Captain Benavente populating another town in the province of Macas.' Benavente's account of his explorations indicates that Mercadillo's expedition and his own operated as a single party. Apparently no account by Mercadillo is known.

The Benavente expedition began sometime between August 15, 1549, and the end of the year. (5) Benavente evidently went over the pass at the head of the Chambo and Upano Rivers, crossing the divide at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and was the first of the Spanish Conquistadores to get in contact with the Jivaro Indians. He probably crossed the Paute River and the evidence indicates that the expedition penetrated as far south as Gualaquiza before turning back. (6) Benavente's account follows:

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"5. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, p. xxxviiii.
6. González Suárez, 1890-1893, vol. vi, p. 47."

11: Mead--161 (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 175

"The diminutive shrunken heads made by the Jivaro Indians, suggesting save for their long straight hair, the heads of Negro pygmies, have been familiar objects in museums for many years and many have been the queries as to how and why they are made. Just how they are made is a problem that has only recently been solved, though many, and oftentimes absurd, have been the speculations as to the way the Indians managed to shrink them to so small a size. One that for some time obtained widespread credence was, that in an early stage of the work the skin of the head was boiled. Of course, boiling would have caused it to fall to pieces. The heads are always black in color, and this was accounted for by the supposition that they had been smoked over a fire.

The details of the process did not come to us all at one time, but by driblets from travelers who had visited some part of the Jivaro country in eastern Ecuador. Indians guard such tribal secrets very jealously, and it is extremely difficult, and in most cases impossible, for one who remains but a short time in their country to obtain exact information about them."

12: Rivet--338-339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jîbaros made an appearance late in history. Their name was pronounced for the first [339] time when, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, the Inca Tupac-Yupanqui undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. The Peruvian conqueror came up against the Cañaris, who lived in the inter-Andean valley, the region which now forms the province of Azuay, and, the chroniclers say, the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas (1). This alliance was undoubtedly only temporary, for it seems that the two tribes were habitually in a state of hostility if one can judge by the ruins which still remain beyond the village of Sigsig in the Eastern Cordillera. Tradition says that these struggles of the Cañaris against the Jîbaros of Gualaquiza and Zamora had as an objective the possession of salt mines, the location of which it is difficult to determine today(2).

1. Federico Gonzales Suarea. Estudio histórico sobre los Cañaris, Quito 1878, page 8. Fernandez Montesinos. Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú. (Edited by Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada), Madrid, 1882, in-8, ch. xxiii and xxvi.

2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Los aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi." Investigaciones arqueológicas, Quito 1904, note on page 12.
---Gonzalez Surea. Prehistoria americana, op. cit., note on page 16.
---Descripciones Geográficas de Indias, Perú, vol. III; Descripción de la provincia de Cuenca hecha el año de 1582, Madrid, 1897.

12: Rivet--339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Cañaris having been conquered, one hears no more about the Jíbaros until the day when the son of Túpac-Yupanqui, Huayna-Cápac, continuing his father's plans, tried to subdue them, but the Inca king had to withdraw in haste from the territory of the Bracamoros (basin of the Chinchipe River) where his troups were as much decimated by the insalubrity of the climate as the incessant attacks of the savages; he avenged himself for this humiliating repulse by declaring them unworthy to be his subjects, hiding the frustration of his ambition under this contemptuous formula. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia General de la República del Ecuador, Quito, 1890-1903; 7 vol. and one archeological atlas, vol. I, p. 54.

12: Rivet--339-340 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 175

Then came the Spanish domination.

The unfortunate expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro (1541) and the adventurous navigation of Francisco de Orellano on the Napo and the Amazon did not touch the Jíbaro country; but at the same time, Captain Pedro de Vergara, by order of Francisco Pizarro, tried in his turn to subject the Bracamoros, and went through all the eastern region which now corresponds to the provinces of Loja and Azuay, without obtaining the slightest practical result.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were crushed, President Don Pedro [340] de La Gasca, in order to make use of his unoccupied soldiers henceforth, divided eastern Ecuador into four regions whose conquest was entrusted to these head captains.

From north to south, they were:

1. The province of Quijos, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela (20 leagues from north to south, 200 leagues from west to east), bounded on the north by the province of Mocoa and Sucumbíos;
2. The province of Macas, which extended from the forests of Gualaquiza, to the east of Cuenca, up to the banks of the Pastaza, then called the Tunguragua River;
3. The province of Yaguarzongo, which corresponds to the Zamora Valley;
4. The province of Bracamoros, entirely to the south, corresponding to the basin of the Chinchipe.

12: Rivet--339-340 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 125

Of these provinces, the last three, save for the extreme southern parts of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the Jíbaro territory. The conquest of Bracamoros went to Captain Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarsongos to Captain Alonso de Mercadillo, that of Macas to Captain Hernando de Benavente.

Benavente entered his domain by way of Zuña, and descended as far as Gualaquiza, but this audacious raid remained without results.

Mercadillo succeeded better in his enterprise and in 1549 established the city of Zamora; as for Palomino, his efforts carried him to the Chinchipe Valley, outside the Jíbaro country; the city of Jaen was built at this time (1549).

12: Rivet--340 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
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In 1557, Juan de Salinas, Governor of Yaguarzongo and Macas, organized a memorable expedition in order to explore eastern Ecuador. Leaving Loja on July 8, 1557, he crossed the Cordillera and founded successively Valladolid, Loyola in the valley of Cumbinamá, Santiago de las Montañas at the juncture of the river of the same name with that of the Manañon, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva; then he embarked on the Santiago, arrived at the Amazon, passed through the famous Pongo de Manseriche, reconnoitred the mouth of the Morona and the Pastaza, visited the great lake of Rimachuma, entered the Ucayali and by this means penetrated as far as the parallel of the province of Cuzco; then they retraced their steps and the hardy explorer returned to Loja on August 28, 1559, having visited all the section south of the Jíbaro country in the course of this magnificent voyage. (1)

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1. Relaciones Geograficas de Indias, publicadas por el Ministerio de Fomento. Madrid, 1881, 4 vol. Perú, vol. IV.--Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, ch. II.

12: Rivet--341 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

Almost at the same time, by the order of Salinas, his nephew, Captain Bernardo de Loyola y Guinea founded Logroño in the province of Gualaquiza, and Captain José Villanueva Maldonado established Sevilla de Oro on the right bank of the Upano. Mendoza was also founded about the same time on the left bank of the Palora.

Thanks to the energetic efforts of Salinas, there existed therefore in the territory which had been entrusted to him, 9 cities: Jaen, Valladolid, Loyola, Santa-Maria de Nieva, Zamora, Santiago, Logroño, Sevilla de Oro, and Mendoza, the last five being in Jíbaro country. But this prosperity was more apparent than real. Usually built without discernment in places where the insalubrity obliged the inhabitants to change the location often, isolated from the center of colonization, surrounded by hostile tribes, these cities by their appearance alone revealed the haste with which they had been constructed. The streets were drawn with measuring lines but the houses were miserable huts with walls of bamboo covered with clay, and with thatched roofs. (1) Moreover, the bad system of colonization employed by the Spaniards, their cupidity, and their cruelty soon caused the conquered Indians to disappear. Many died working in the mines; the others fled to the deepest parts of the forest. So it was that at the time of the founding of Zamora, there were 16,000 Indians in the district and in 1622, no more than 140 remained, and the city itself only had 3 inhabitants. In 1598, Valladolid was reduced to 15 inhabitants and one could only make a little village of the miserable remains of the two great cities of Valladolid and Loyola.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 46.

12: Rivet--341-342 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 669

Incessant uprisings were also the result of this disastrous colonial policy. The most famous was that of 1599. On the occasion of the death of Philipp II, and the crowning of Philipp III, the governor of Macas wished to levy in his province a supplementary tribute under the name of "donativo para fiestas reales". Exasperated, the Jíbaros prepared a great revolt, under the leadership of a chief called Quiruba, and on the appointed day, 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño in the night. All the inhabitants were killed, the young women alone were spared and became [342] the wives of the wild victors (1). The governor died in the worst tortures; Quiruba made him drink melted gold to see, he said, if thus his thirst for riches could be appeased. The city was pillaged and burned, there were about 12,000 deaths. From Logroño, Quiruba went to Sevilla de Oro, where a great many of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The unfortunate city put up a desperate resistance and the aggressors had to withdraw, not without having killed three quarters of the population, about 18,000 individuals (2).

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 70. The wise Ecuadorian historian has pointed out that the Jíbaros could not have captured nuns since there did not exist at this time a convent of women in any city of the eastern region.

2. Coleti, op. cit. word Xivaros, vol. II. p. 182.--Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 152 and following.--Pedro Fermín Cevallos. Resumen de la historia del Ecuador. Guayaquil 1886, 6 vol. vol. II, pages 141 and following.

Three expeditions organized to avenge these deaths failed miserably.

The end of the sixteenth century, therefore, saw the disappearance of these cities founded at random by these captains who were more bold than experienced, and the Jíbaros could greet the dawn of the 17th century in the rapture of a recovered independance.

But the descendants of the "Conquistadores" always cherished the dream of colonizing the Amazonian regions, and in September, 1619, the Corregidor de Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, at the head of a troup of 68 well-armed men and a number of Indian slaves, embarked on the Santiago in 22 canoes of huge size, and he descended this river until it joined the Marañon, passed through the Pongo de Manseriche, and founded the city of San Francisco de Borja on the left bank of the Amazon on December 9. He continued his exploration as far as Lake Rimachuma (1). On his return he had a private interview with the viceroy of Peru, who named him governor of the province of Mainas, to pacify the Jíbaros, but he did not keep his promise. It was in May, 1645, that his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who had succeeded him ordered two Franciscan monks, Fathers Laureano de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, to go into the Jíbaro country by way of Cuenca with the aid of Colonel Antonio Carreño (2). In spite of their absolute defeat, this attempt opened a new epoch. One can [343] consider, in fact,

1. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 113.
2. Compte, op. cit., vol. I, p. 178.

12: Rivet--342-343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

the epoch of purely military expeditions as finished; the attempts at penetration now are arrayed in a religious character, even when they had another purpose than the evangelical.

12: Rivet--343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

For a century, a veritable assault was made against the Jíbaros tribes, from the west as well as from the east. From the east, it was led vigorously by the Jesuits who, after 1638, had established flourishing missions in the eastern region, the monks either accomplishing it alone, or cooperating in the half military, half religious expeditions that the civil authorities liked to organize.

The first attempt of this kind was in 1656. At this time, the governor of Cajamarca, Don Martín de la Riva Agüero, organized a company of 100 soldiers, to which were added 100 Indians brought in from the Mainas missions by the JesuitFather Raimundo Santa Cruz (1). This important group traversed the whole left bank of the Marañon, and near the point where the Pastaza empties into this river, on July 25, 1656, was founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, moreover, disappeared almost immediately (2). As for the Jíbaros, at first attracted by the prudent behavior of Father Raimundo, they quickly guessed the real goal of the expedition and fled, not without having killed a good many Spaniards in skillful ambushes.

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1. Chantre y Herrera, *op. cit.*, p. 176
2. Gonzalez Suarez. *Historia del Ecuador*, *op. cit.* vol. VI, p. 203.

12: Rivet--343-344 (no date) 1907 Jívaro -1
116, 175

About 1690, Father Lorenzo Lucero, with the aid of a small flotilla, organized a number of peaceful expeditions into the Jíbaro country, but the reputation of cupidity left by the expedition of Martín de la Riva prevented his success (1).

Two years later, a great effort was again made. By the order of the "Real Audiencia", the Captain-General of Mainas, Don Jerónimo Vaca undertook in his turn the conquest of the Jíbaros; the Superior of the Jesuit Missions, Father Viva, accompanied him and brought with him canoes and already converted Indians, in a word, all the necessary auxiliaries and resources. (2) Never had such preparations been made: a real fleet was assembled at Borja, consisting of a troup of 100 Spanish soldiers and 900 Indians. Each tribe was armed according to its local custom and [344] commanded by its own missionary. The expedition ascended the Santiago by canoe and fortified itself on the bank of this river. Then they began a series of veritable man hunts, based on this point, with the purpose of capturing by force these savages who were so stubborn as not to come voluntarily to the Europeans. These detachments combed the country in every direction and some went as far as Zamora, having thus traversed from east to west all the Jíbaro country. Useless trouble! the Indians fled before the troops or they hid themselves, thanks to their profound knowledge of the forest, in order to return at the propitious

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 283.
2. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 303 and following

12: Rivet--343-344 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

moment to harass and surprise the Spaniards, who fell without even knowing where the death blows came from. In five months, they captured 372 individuals; but these unhappy souls, instead of letting themselves be touched by evangelical grace, escaped at the first opportunity, and if flight appeared impossible to them, they committed suicide rather than renounce their liberty, and mothers were seen to kill their young children by their own hands, by suffocating them with mud or stones, in order to save them from the life which awaited them. At the end of five months, the discouraged and fatigued expedition disbanded, and the viceroy of Peru, realizing the uselessness and the danger of these "correrías", forbade them for the future (1).

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 204.

12: Rivet--344 (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

It was not until 1767 that Father Andrès Camacho made a new attempt; it appears that he was on the way to success, when the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies (Pragmatic Sanction against the Society of Jésus; April 2, 1767) (1). The missions were then successively handed over to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. Far from being marked by new conquests, this period was all decadence and disorganization.

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1. Cnantre y Herrera, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

12: Rivet--344-345 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-I
116, 175, 797

While the society of Jésus attacked the savages from the southeast, other missionarie tried to take them in the rear from the west; I am speaking of the Dominicans. In 1581, four Fathers of this order, belonging to the convent of Quito, had penetrated into the basin of the Pastaza; Father Valentin de Amaya had explored the right bank of this river, Father Baltasar Quintana the left bank and its tributaries, Father Diego de Ocho had ventured into the mountains of the Penday, and Sebastian Rosero into those of Puyo (1). [345] A first village by the name of Canelos had been founded the same year with t baptized Indians at the mouth of the Pindo. But harassed by the attacks of the Jíbaros, the Fathers had to change the location twice and finally established it on the spot where it now is, on a little hill which dominates the left bank of the Bobonaza (2). This missi of Canelos, officially entrusted to the Dominicans in 1683 by Charles II, did not progres and in 1778, there were only 22 male individuals in a single village (3), the object of incessant assaults by neighboring tribes, and it would even have disappeared but for the

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1. Probably Puyo, the mountain massif in which the Pindo River has its source.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur. Paris, 1889, p. 134.
3. "Informe del misionero Fr. Manuel Bermeo", 1778, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 278.

12: Rivet--344-345 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175, 797

arrival of Father Santiago Riofrío who brought it some prosperity. In 1798, thanks to him, it included the three annexed small villages of Nuestra Señora del Rosario or la Palma (173 inhabitants), San Jacinto (37 inhabitants) and San Carlos de los Achuales (36 inhabitants) (4). This mission remained in the hands of the Dominicans until 1803, at which time it was given over to the bishop of Mainas.

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4. Gonzalez Suarez. *Historia del Ecuador*, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

12: Rivet--345 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

As for Macas, the effort was still less important. In 1736, Father Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, by the command of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, penetrated to the home of the savages of this region, but at the end of two years, he had to withdraw without having been able to found a single village, the new converts having been decimated by small-pox (1).

Finally, further to the south, in August, 1785, the Corrogidor of Loja, Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, organized on the order of the President of Quito, an expedition into the region of Zamora. His report contains some interesting details concerning the Indians that he encountered and one map of the location of Zamora is appended. (2)

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1. "Informe del P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno dirigido al Presidents de Quito", 1739, in Compte, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 55.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. *Historia del Ecuador*, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, note on page 221.

12: Rivet--345-346 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 797

In 1803, the immense diocese of Mainas was set up. It was bounded [346] on the east by the Portugese settlements on the banks of the Amazon, on the west by the base of the Cordillera of the Andes, on the north by the Putumayo, to the south by the Pongo de Manseriche of the Marañon (Papal Bull VII of May 28, 1803). All the Jíbaro territory came under this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which all the existing missions were put. But this attempt at centralization did not last very long, since in 1814 the Dominicans had taken possession of their old establishment of Canelos which then had only 145 inhabitants (1). At this time, the evangelical zeal had cooled singularly. The flame of the apostolate shone only with a feeble light, and if there was still interest in the mysterious eastern regions, it was more out of curiosity or cupidity than because of piety. So it was that more expeditions were organized into the regions of Cuenca and Loja in order to look for the former site of Logroño, in particular in 1788 and 1789, at the instigation of the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. The explorers discovered the ruins of good-sized buildings on the other side of the Cordillera, which ruins they took for the remains of the unhappy city and which were in reality, vestiges of aboriginal construction, perhaps some of those works of defense constructed by the Cañaris in order to protect themselves against the Jíbaros, of whom I have already spoken.

1. "Extracto de un informe del Ilmo Sr. Rangel," 1818, in Compte, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 339.---Fr. Enrique Vacas Galindo, *Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos,* 3 vol., Quito, 1902-1903, vol. I, p. 370.

12: Rivet--346-347 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 175

In 1816, a Franciscan monk, Father Antonio José Prieto, by command of the temporary governor of Cuenca, Don José Lopez Tormaleo, received the mission from the viceroy Abascal to make a new reconnaissance. He was very well received by the Jíbaros, who spontaneously showed him a spot planted with orange trees, at the union of the Bombojsa and Jambibiza, telling him: "Here are buried the whites, your ancestors!" (1) The tradition of the massacre of 1599 had been transmitted faithfully from generation to generation. Ruins were found at the juncture of the Bomboiza and Sangurima (or Rosario); they are pre-Columbian; Father Prieto made a map of them, and here is the description of them given by Gonzalez Suarez, who has had the original documents in his hands: "The ruins are formed of three parts:- a very prolonged wall, destined to enclose and defend the entire edifice, parallel to the current of the two rivers; nine parallel stone walls [347] forming eight passageways; three houses almost joined to each other, a walled square, and finally two parallel ramparts constructed in order to defend and protect the site of the houses. The buildings were of stone and their ruins occupy a considerable expanse of land. When Father Prieto visited these places the trees had already formed a dense forest"(2). In remembrance of his trip the missionary founded,

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol, VI, note on page 205.

2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi," op. cit., note on page 12.--Segundo Alvarez Arteta. La cuestión de Límites entre las Repúblicas del Ecuador y el Perú. Sevilla, 1901, p. 396.

12: Rivet--346-347 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

about a league away from the juncture of the Bomboiza and the Santiago or Paute, the little village which still exists under the name of Gualaquiza (3).

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3. "Descripción de la Provincia de los Jívaros, su religión, costumbres y producciones," by Franciscan Father Fray Antonio Jose Prieto in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 63.

12: Rivet--347-348 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 175

The wars of emancipation and the period of political troubles which followed were hardly favorable to the attempts at penetration into the homes of the savages of the East. Too many urgent preoccupations kept the attention of the Spanish in the center of their rebellious country. This trouble was a source of peace for the Jîbaros and it was not until the middle of the 19th century that some explorers or new missionaries tried to enter into contact with them again. In 1848 (May and June) Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza without great evangelical success (1); in 1852, the bishop of Cuenca, Mgr. Manuel Plaza wished to reopen the abandoned missions and to this end made a trip to Gualaquiza (2). In 1859, the bishop of Chachapoyas, Don Pedro Ruiz, led toward the south of the Jîbaro country a Peruvian expedition, organized under the auspices of the Sociedad de Patriotas del Amazonas (3); in 1861, the Ecuadorian colonel Victor Proaño left Macas and descended the course of the Morona to its confluence with the Marañon, giving a very curious account of his trip (4). Finally, in 1867 and

1. Castrucci de Vernazza, *op. cit.*
2. Informe del Ilmo Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza" in Compte, *op. cit.*, vol. II, page 293.
3. Antonio Raimondi. *El Perú*, 3 vol., Lima, 1874-80, in-8°, vol. III, p. 274.
4. This itinerary has been published by Vacas Galindo. *Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 402.

1874, two Peruvian hydrographic commissions went up by steam boat and studied a large part of the courses of the Morona and Pastaza (5). As for the work of evangelization, that was [348] begun only after the return of the Jesuits. It was in 1869 that the famous Company signed a contract with the second Ecuadorian provincial council which was approved in 1871 by the pope, for the establishment of missions at Canelos and Macas, which had been taken from the Dominicans, on the Napo, at Gualaquiza, and at Zamora. The monks, full of enthusiasm, attempted immediately to perform the work that their predecessors of the 17th century had not been able to accomplish. Early in 1869, Fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán went to install themselves at Canelos; in 1870 Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Only Zamora was momentarily abandoned. Vain efforts! Three years later Gualaquiza had to be abandoned because of the armed

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5. "Parte del Capitán de corbeta graduado D. Mariano Adrian Vargas en el viaje de exploración hecho a los rios Alto Marañon y Morona" (El Peruano of December 21, 1867). --Raimondi. El Perú, op. cit., vol. III, p. 281, 369, 474 and 518. --Von H. Habenicht. "Die peruanischen Expeditionen zur Erforschung des oberen Amazonstroms und seiner Nebenflusse" (with a map) (Dr. A. Petermann's Mittheilungen, 25th vol. 1879, p. 89).

12: Rivet--347-348 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-3
116, 175

uprisings of the Jîbaros (6), and in 1885 it was Macas' turn. Then the ecclesiastical authority intervened again, October 4, 1886, in order to give the missions of Macas and Canelos to the Dominicans, leaving to the Jesuits only the establishments on the Napo. Since 1893, the Franciscans on their side have taken charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group.

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6. Pozzi, *op. cit.* --R. Caceres S. J. *La Provincia oriental de la República del Ecuador. Apuntes de viaje.* Quito, 1892, p. 39.
--Padre L. L. S. S. J. *La Misión del Napo.* Quito, 1894, p. 11.

12: Rivet--348-349 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 114

Such is the present state of things: need I add that all these efforts hardly produced any serious results and that the conversion of the Jibaro is not begun ? However, thanks to these missions we know a great many interesting details [349] about these savages so stubbornly resistant to all civilized influences. On the other hand, the numerous explorers who have penetrated these unknown regions in the second half of the 19th century have brought back ample harvests of ethnological and geographical documents. These accounts of missionaries and explorers have attracted the attention of ethnologists to the Jibaros and these ethnologists have devoted some more or less important articles to them. Here I will only mention Hamy's memoir. To this author goes the honor of having first coordinated the scattered accounts relative to these curious Indians, given a complete study of mummified heads, and discussed the important problem of the origin of this great tribe (1).

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1. E.-T.-Hamy. Decades Americanae. Memoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie américaines, 3rd and 4th Decades, p. 43. "Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jivaros" (article published in the Revue d'Anthropologie, vol. II, July 1873, p. 385.)

12: Rivet--353-354 (no date) 1907 Jívaro -1
116, 101, 175

Let us now take successively each of the great basins.

Basin of the Pastaza. The Cubillines (V) lived formerly in the cordillera of Cubillin, the origin of the Upano, the Palora and the Llusino; the Huamboyas (V) or Huambogas (B) inhabited the chain of mountains located more to the east, between the sources of the Palora and the Llusino, north of the Sangay volcano; the Paloras (V) along the Palora river. The Achuales ($V_1$), Uchuales (M), Achmiles (B), or Achuelos (M.M) constitute a great tribe, which occupies the whole right bank of the Pastaza from the Achual River to the confluence with the Bobonaza. It was these people who annihilated Andoas. The Maxumbaras (C), found a little above this confluence, must be a part of the Achuales.

The Pindos ($V_1$) have been visited and studied by Reiss and Stübel, later by Simson, on the banks of the stream of Pintuc or Pindo. Downstream from this tribe, the Copatasas ($V_1$) wander between the Copataza River and the Pastaza, and the Capahuaris (V) in all the territory between the Bobonaza to the N.E. and the Copataza to the S.W; the Jíbaros of the Pingullu (D), on the banks of the watercourse with the same name, seem to belong to this last group.

Finally, the Muratos (V) and Machines (C) occupy all the region sprinkled with lakes, which extends between the Pastaza on the east, the Morona on the west, and the Marañon on the south; to the north, they go up to the southern limits of the Achuales (1). They are found for ten days' journey up the Pastaza River. Thanks to the information furnished

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1. Markham wrongly included the Muratos with the Záparos. Markham, op. cit., p.176

12: Rivet--353-354 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 101, 175

by Father Castrucci, Colonel Proaño, Raimondi, Loccioli (2) and Marcel Monnier, we are thus able to localize this important tribe which extends as far as the left bank of the Pastaza. The Guazagas (V) [354] are a section of this tribe, living on the banks of the Huasaga River, a right-hand tributary of the Pastaza.

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2. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

13: Rivet--72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 175

These trophies have always given rise to the most fantastic theories. A tsantsa sent in 1862 to the Internation Exposition in London by the Chilean Consul, Don. R. de Silva Ferro, was exhibited there as an Inca head (!) (1) In 1882, Barbosa Rodrigues attributes the specimen that he describes to the Mundurucus (2). The anonymous author who published one of the specimens shown by Ecuador at the World Exposition in 1900, reports that the Inca warriors had the custom of suspending the heads of their enemies from their saddles (?) (3); and only recently the tsantsas were presented by the Berlin papers as heads of pygmies from the Congo. (4) These errors are all the less explicable since for a long time serious ethnographers have known that at present they are the work of the Jívaros.

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1. Bollaert, op. cit., page 114, note 1.
2. J. Barbosa Rodrigues. Tribu dos Mundurucus. Cabeca mumificada (Revista da exposicao anthropologica, Brazileira. Rio de Janero, 1882, page 39).
3. D. Les Têtes Momifiées des Incas, op. cit.
4. Je sais tout, 15 Février, 1907.

13: Rivet--73 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 175, 565, 764

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Caimanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

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1. Dr. Saffray, Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narcisso y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

13: Rivet--73-75 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 727

At present, the Jívaros alone have kept the monopoly on the making of mummified heads.

It was the Fathers Manuel Sobreviela and Narcisso y Barcelo, who, in the work that I have just cited, were the first to indicate the method of preparation of these war trophies and to mention the celebration which took place over them. In 1815, Father Prieto also gives a short but excellent description (1). These details [74] that one finds in Villavicencio (2) are still unknown to European ethnographers. W. Bollaert was the first to possess an example of the Jíbaro art of taxidermy which he had received in June, 1861, from M. Cassola, but the publication he made on this subject did not appear until 1863, and the year before Moreno Maiz presented to the Anthropological Society of Paris and described a specimen which had been sent him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. Since then, quite a number of publications have been made on tsantsas and I give here as complete a list as possible in chronological order.* [75]...A general type stands out, of which I will try to describe the characteristics.

Most of the Jívaro tribes are represented in collections: Pastazas, Tambos or Tumbas, Jambas, Gualaquizas, Achuales, Antipas, Macas, Muratos, Aguarunas, Zamoras.

1. Prieto. Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros, etc. op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., Tome II, page 63.
2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 361.

* See original source for this bibliography.

So obviously this is a very general custom in all the Jívaro country.

As a general rule, mens heads were used; however, one of the tsantsas published by Lubbock was feminine. It is possible that this was a question of an exceptional case, explicable perhaps by the status of the victim, who was the wife of the chief of the Achuales (1).

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

22: Hamy--385-386 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"In the sixteenth century, the Spanish had, because of the civil wars of the tribes of Paute and Morona, created amon them various colonies under the names of Logroño, Mendoza, Sevilla, etc. (1). The Indians, subdued for a moment, rose up in 1599, under the direction of a warrior named Quirraba, and destroyed in very little time the new-born cities. The memory of the cruelties which they inflicted at that time on the immigrants has remained vivid until the last century in Spanish America, to which is attributed in part the remarkable qualities which are displayed sometimes by the tribes of the Maranon or of the Pastassa, being a result of alliances forced on a certain number of white women, which the sack of Logroño had left in the possession of the agressors of this unfortunate little town.

The ancient historians of Peru are agreed in attributing this [386] bloody revolt of the Indians to their desire to escape from the work of the mines, to which the conquerors had subjected them. A love of liberty is one of the most salient traits of character of these bellicose tribes; they had victoriously resisted the Incas, they knew how to break the yoke of the white invaders after 47 years of oppression.

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"(1) Villavicencio, Geografia de la Republica del Ecuador. New-York, 1858, in 8$^{o}$, p. 275."

22: Hamy--385-386 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 175

Of this occupation, so short and abruptly terminated, the Spaniards have reported no sort of scientific documents, and until 1684 one remains almost completely ignorant of everything concerning these hostile tribes and the territory which they occupied. About this period, the Jesuits, encouraged principally by the Count de Leon, president of the royal council of Quito, attempted to penetrate anew this country 'of inaccessible mountains' inhabited by an unknown people 'naturally savage and inhuman.' The history of the missions has preserved the names of Richler, of Gaspard Vital, of Vasquez, and of still others, whose painful voyages have enlarged a little the horizons of science. Several of these travelers of the first hour lost their lives on the dangerous missions which they had accepted or initiated. But, thanks to their efforts, we have begun to know a little of this vast country. Through them one distinguishes already several Indian parties of Cheduas, of Alones, of Choltos, of Chipes, of Andoas, of Abijiras, etc., without being able to determine on the map the exact area which they occupy...."

22: Hamy--386-387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 101

"In 1741, Father Samuel Fritz published a general map, incorrect without doubt, but much less incomplete than that of Pagan; and on this map one can read, under a form little different from that which is used at present, the true name of the large Indian *family* of the territories of Cuenca and of Chachapoyas.

Fritz named these savages *Xibaros*...; la Condamine..., Lapie..., [387] Mollien ..., etc., have preserved this designation. They are now called *Jivaros* or *Jeberos*."

22: Hamy--387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

"Father Manuel Castrucci of Vernazza visited them in 1845 on the Pastassa river; Lieutenant Herndon, of the United States marines beginning his exploration of the Amazon in 1854, saw one of their tribes on the banks of the Huallaga river (2); the Bishop of Chachapoyas conducted a Peruvian expedition in the same locality in 1859. Mateo Paz Soldan..., Messieurs Osculati..., Villavicencio..., Bollaert..., Barriero..., Moreno Maiz..., Antonio Raimondy..., Cl.-R. Markham..., have contributed short accounts on the Jivaro. Finally Father Louis Pozzi who is evangelizing them at the present time, has just written several letters to the mission of Gualaquiza which contain interesting information...."

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"(2) Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, in-8°, 1854, p.174."

22: Hamy--387-388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 101, 175

"By comparing the various documents, one finds that the Jivaro family, localized especially in the north of Maranon, between the Pastassa and Chinchipe rivers, includes nevertheless, four tribes to the south of the river, in Peruvian territory: the Muratos, the Uambisas, the Aguarunas and the Antipas. The first of these tribes is not yet clearly defined on the map. The second appears to occupy the area opposite the mouth of the Huambisa or Yurumbisa river. Mr. Herndon encountered the Aguarunas, whom he named Aguanos, at Santa-Cruz on the Huallaga river, a little above the point where this river joins with the Maranon. The expedition of the bishop of Chachapoyas discovered other Aguarunas on the Maranon itself, between the mouth of the Nieva river and the celebrated Pongo of Manseriche. Paz Soldan and Mr. Raimondy show us on the river, above the same [388] Pongo, the Antipas neighbors of the Aguarunas, with whom they are at continual war...."

22: Hamy--388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 103, 175

"The *Jivaro* north of the *river*, located in consequence in the republic of Ecuador, are very much more numerous. Villavicencio speaks of 13 or 14 tribes which he calls the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the *Pautes*, the Logroños, the Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, the *Pindos*, the Agapicos, the Achuales, etc. But several of these groups of Indians are sections of tribes, rather than the tribes themselves. They take their names from the rivers on whose banks they live or from the designations imposed by the Spaniards. And that explains why the list of Villavicencio, incomplete as it is...., added to that of Mateo Paz Soldan, surpasses the number formerly assigned by Velasco to the Jivaro dialects.... Whatever they are, the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, are grouped in the neighborhood of water courses which run into and form the Santiago river. The Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Pindos, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, occupy the bassin of the Morona river. The other Jivaro are scattered in the basin of the Pastassa, along this river and its affluents."

22: Hamy--389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 142, 175

"However incomplete and vague the descriptions of the Jivaros may be, we must reproduce them with whatever details the travelers can give. They describe the Jivaro as being of slim build, the men being a little taller than average, and the women a little smaller. The body is well formed; the limbs are quite muscular, robust and agile; the constitution is strong and healthy. Nothing has been said of the form of the head; the face appears to be orthognathous or slightly prognathous; the forehead is bare [découvert], the nose aquiline, sometimes slightly upturned; the eyes are small and black, horizontally directed and very lively; the lips are fine and the teeth ivory white. The hair, usually very black is sometimes of a reddish brown; the beard is thin and when it is more apparent, it is attributed, like the light coloring of several individuals to the crossing of these with the Spaniards. There is nothing, extremely characteristic, unfortunately, in this picture of the Jivaro."

22: Hamy--389-390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 192, 175

"The Jivaro speaks generally one of the 13 dialects mentioned by Velasco. Sometimes, as among the Aguarunas, he uses a little Quechua; it appears even that the names of numbers above five are borrowed from this language, and Mateo Paz Soldan was led to believe with several other writers, that certain Jivaro had formerly been subjugated by the Incas....

This opinion is not generally held..., and the use, very [390] limited moreover, of Quechua finds its explanation in the relations maintained in the neighborhood, comparable to those which the same Indians maintain today with the Peruvians of Chachapoyas and the Colombians of Canalos, who teach them a little Spanish."

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 101, 175

"Humboldt and Orbigny have already included in the Guarani peoples the Omaguas of Ucayali and of Marañon, brothers of the Umaüas of Brazil. First of all the name of the Jivaros recall in a striking manner that of one of the large affluents of the Amazon, the Javari river. Along the banks of this river live the Mayorunas. Near the Japura river, another tributary of the great river, are the Marahunos. On the Ouanari, affluent of the right bank of the Oyapoc, live the Maraones. These three names are closely related to that of the Moronas of the Morona river. In the eighteenth century on the same Japura river, there were the Achuaris whose ethnic appellation scarcely distinguishes them from that of the Jivaro Achuales. The Muratos recall the Muras of the Purus river. The name of the Uambisas fits perfectly into the most frequently used forms of the Guaranis, of whom the tribes in Ua were formerly so numerous. It is the same for the Catapasas which one can relate to the Catapuyas, the Catahaichis, the Cataxos, the Catakinos, etc. The Pastassas seem to have taken their name from the Carib Pastuzzos of the Atlantic coast, between Chiriqui and Goajira. The Gualaquisas have a name akin to that of these Gualachos who have inhabited the islands of the river of Coronda below Santa-Fe. Finally the Upanos derive their [391] origin from the ancient Panos of the Javari river. It is known that these are the same Upanos who, chased into part of the basin of the Morona by hostile neighbors who were nevertheless of the same race, descended into the pampa of the Sacramento, where the Franciscans found them established and where several recent travelers, among whom we have noted especially

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 175

Mr. Paul Marcoy..., have encountered their miserable remnants.

It should be added that the general term by which the great Indian race of the East is designated, the word Guarani, finds itself scarcely changed in the name of the principal tribe of Peruvian Jivaros, the Aguarunas, of whom we have, with Herndon and Paz Soldan, localized the two tribes...."

22: Hamy--391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 166, 175

"The study of the names of the Jivaro tribes alone then, demonstrate that which Orbigny had already foreseen, that the populations of Marañon are connected more or less directly to the great Guaranian group. The relations which we have just established tend, moreover, to prove that the savages of whom we have sketched too short an ethnology have come to establish themselves in the forests of Cuenca, of Jaen or of Chachapoyas, by going up the rivers, since certain names of tribes, mentioned along the middle course of the Amazon at the time of its discovery, have disappeared from the spot, to be rediscovered today along the banks of the Maranon and its upper affluents. The history of the Jivaro people would be comparable, in consequence, to that of the Tupi nation, nearly annihilated in the neighborhood of Para by the Portuguese whose traces Pedro Teixeira discovered along the Madeira river, or again comparable to that of the Chiriguanos whose curious migration described by Orbigny, across the Chaco to the foot of the last spurs of the Bolivian Andes. (2) "

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"(2) We have purposely omitted to speak here of the Antipas, the neighbors and enemies of the Aguarunas, and who, ranked by Mateo Paz Soldan among the Jivaro, can be only a branch of the race Anti, which would explain their incessant battles against the Jivaro themselves."

25: Vigna--37 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 175

The inhabitants of the town of Macas, a settlement in the heart of the forest and founded by the early settlers (1600) have preserved some sporadic notes on the Jíbaros. The Ecuadorian historians (V. González Suárez, Villavicencio; etc.) have made use of these references in an effort to weave together a fragment of Jíbaro history. They speak of a numerous and warlike people who may have descended from the Mainas or the Caribs, - of a people with so much cohesion that it was able to oppose the covetous exigencies of the Spanish, assassinate tens of thousands (!) of the same, destroy the cities raised in the virgin forest by the whites, and declare itself owner and master of those infernal regions. But the historians cited do not offer us information of an enlightening and historic character; nor do the records of the Jesuit Fathers, in particular the book entitled: 'Las Misiones del alto Marañón español,' offer detailed information of historical value.

Since we do not have a true or authentic basis, we will not waste time cavilling and will not bother to form an hypothesis. One of the most important and indispensable sources of information was, without doubt, 'El Archivo de las Indias' of Seville (Spain), and from this source certainly, we should have been able to gather valuable information concerning the savage tribes of the Amazon.

26: Brüning--46 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101, 175

The Aguaruna, Antipa, Huambisa, and Murato Indians are the component tribes that make up the Jibaro people, according to Bastian. The Jibaro people were never completely subjugated by the Incas, just as they put up a firm resistance against the later Spanish attempts at conquest. What the old historians report concerning the Jibaros may still be said of the Aguarunas of today: they are just as proud, brave freedom-loving, and, at the same time, hospitable as the old Jibaro people are said to have been.

The Aguarunas keep up a friendship with the Antipas, but they are hostile to the Huambisa Indians who live along the banks of the Santiago River. I have noticed that they regard it as an insult if they are called Huambisa.

26: Brüning--46-47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 436

In former years the Indians came as far as Bella Vista and later even to Bagua Chica in order to exchange parrots and other animals for articles of everyday use. Raimondi tells us that in 1845 the Aguarunas destroyed at the same time the mestizo-settlements [47] Puyaya and Copallín, the one situated on the right bank of the Marañón River, somewhat below the Rentema, the other on the left bank.

The old mestizo Santiago Lara, one of the survivors of Copallín and now 56 years old, told me in Bagua Chica the following story concerning the destruction of Copallín: "It happened in about 1856 that Jibaros first attacked the houses that were situated outside the village. The inhabitants of the chief settlement, warned by the clamor, were given a chance to flee. My father took me on his shoulders, and we fled, like the others into a mountain gorge. When the Indians came, they found the village deserted. They carried away everything they regarded as valuable, but they did no damage to the buildings." And yet, neither Copallín nor Puyaya was ever resettled by its inhabitants. Another Copallín was founded on the right bank of the Uteabamba River.

26: Brüning--47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 175

In 1871, or thereabout, Indians advanced once more beyond the Rentema for trading purposes. They left their canoes at the mouth of the Uteabamba River. The Indians numbered about 25, and there was one woman among them. They were escorted to Bagua Chica by the inhabitants of this village. Our informant was at that time deputy headman of Bagua Chica. Immediately he sent word to his superior, who happened to be away on his farm. The superior gave orders to entertain the Indians with food and drink while he would take further measures. In the meantime, he gathered men from the neighboring villages of Copallín, La Peca, and La Montería with the intention to kill the Indians. Among these men were several survivors from the old villages of Copallín and Puyaya. These survivors maintained that they were able to identify some of the Indians as the attackers of those old villages. Under some pretext the Indians were led into the assembly house (Cabildo), where they were locked in. Soon the poor Indians saw themselves attacked with rifles and pointed bamboo spears. Through the roof and the bamboo walls shots were fired at them, and they were stabbed until all were killed with the exception of three who succeeded to escape through the door. Two of these and a young fellow, who had kept watch over the canoes, brought the news of the carnage back to their villages; the third man was sent as a present to the prefect of Chachapoyas, where he later died of smallpox. The Indian woman, who had been turned over to a farmer in the vicinity, met with the same fate.

26: Brüning--47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-2
116, 175

The dead were buried on the left bank of the Uteabamba River a little below Bagua Chica. This place is still known as the Playa de los Jíbaros.

Old people in Bagua Chica also told me that in former years the whites or rather the mestizos had provoked these attacks since they had taken the women from the Indians who were engaged in peaceful barter transactions.

26: Brüning--47-48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 181

In June 1904, that is after my trip, the Indians along the upper Marañón made another uprising, killing all the white men who lived among them, some fifty or sixty, and even a few missionaries. These carnages are officially described as acts of treachery on the part of the Indians. But in going to the bottom of things one will find out that they are acts of retribution. These Indians are sensitive children of nature who never forget an insult even if it may take a long time until they get their revenge. They time their revenge according to the circumstances. Superstition, too, plays its part. For they first make a brew of a narcotic liana, which in the Aguaruna language is called náktém, while the white men call it "rope of death" (ayahuasca). The drinking of this brew causes them to have visions, and they shape their revenge plans in accordance with these hallucinations. In this manner many years may pass, and it can easily be understood that they then take their revenge not always on the guilty ones. They are aware of one thing only: the offense had come from the white men, and white men have to be punished for it....

[48] An affair which is only a joke for the whites is often a serious insult for the Indian. All these insults are put on one common bill, which must be paid in blood at a time which the Indians regard as auspicious. But when the time for payment comes, then the Indians know only Indians on one side and white men on the other. Even white men who are friendly toward the Indians are not exempt from punishment.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 539

"Some Observations on the Jívaros (Jébero, Jívira), from Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, etc. By W. Bollaert. pp. 96. Translated from Villavicencio's Geografía del Ecuador. London: Trübner.

This great nation is found between the rivers Chinchipe and Pastasa; it is composed of numerous and large tribes, taking the names of the rivers on which they live, as Moronas, Pautes, Zamoras, Gualaquisas, Upanos, Pindos, Pastassas, Agapicos, Achuales, Cotapassas, etc. All these speak the Jívaro language, which is clear, energetic, and harmonious, and easy to learn. The Incas of Peru tried in vain to conquer them; the Spaniards succeeded in reducing them, founding cities in their country; but a rising on one day in 1599 destroyed the work of many years. Since then some attempts have been made to subdue them, but without success. They are active and muscular, have black eyes, small, and very animated; they show a bold front, are bent nosed, thin lipped, and have teeth as white as ivory. Many of them are whitish and bearded: it is believed this whiteness comes from the Spanish women they stole when they rebelled in 1599. They use the lance with great dexterity, and manage the shield well.

Although the Jívaros are of so unbending a character, some of the tribes approach the conquered settlements, entering into relations with them, as has occurred in

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-2
116, 175, 539

Canelos, with some of the Jívaros of the Pastassa, and they have even learnt the Quitu language. Other tribes have crossed the Cordillera, and have entered the towns, seeking peace and trade, inviting them to open roads.

Mr. Markham, in Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, p. 166, Hakluyt Soc., 1859, states that the Jívaros take a strong emetic every morning in the shape of an infusion of the leaves of the guayusa (sometimes called the tea-plant), for the sake of getting rid of all undigested food, going to the chase with an empty stomach.

In 1855, some Jívaros are reported to have destroyed the ancient town of San Borja, and the villages of Santa Teresa and Santiago. See Samuel Fritz's Map, 1707. Velasco, Historia de Quito, iii, p. 152; Villavicencio; and Heraldo de Lima, 1855."

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 539

"Conspiracy of the Jívaros. From Velasco's Historia de Quito, iii, p.152, etc. Translated by W.B.

In 1599, the same year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jívaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jívaros would not, and were about resolving to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the river Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary; and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jívaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy; the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all the Spaniards in that region on a

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jivaro-2
116, 175. 539

certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began [117] to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learnt that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant twenty-five leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-3
116, 175, 539

morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jívaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Jívaros Moronas intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (sixteen leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone towards Riobambo.

When the Jívaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro, the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12,000. Sevilla had 25,000 inhabitants; one quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jívaros nearly destroyed the neighbouring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force into the Indian

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jivaro-4
116, 175, 539

country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jívaros as far as the river Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jívaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the other into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barcas, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jívaros lay in ambush, and de-[118]stroyed the whole of the expedition. After six months, those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned back to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He applied to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four.

The Bishop of Quito then suggested to the Jesuits to go as missionaries amongst the Jívaros; so in 1633 two of the order embarked with some Indians on the Paute, for

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-5
116, 175, 539

Logroño, which was found only after much search; the ruins of the city had been covered with vegetation in the space of thirty-two years. The Jesuits now alone journeyed through the wilderness in search of the Jívaros, when one of them died. The other, after two years wandering, arrived at Jaen, his body full of wounds, and nearly naked."

29: Vité --15 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jíbaros are located at present in the southern end of Ecuador, adjoining the northern boundary of Peru, in an almost unknown region. Much has been contributed to their study by the Salesian missionaries who were of great assistance to the expedition.

We have lived with the Jíbaros, and, as a result, have been able to acquire a complete knowledge of their customs and language.

30: Franco--142 [5]　　(no date) 1935　　Jívaro
116, 175, 727

Ancient chroniclers say that Huáscar had sworn to make a vessel for drinking out of Atahualpa's head, and that when Atahualpa triumphed, it was he who did so with the head of the vanquished chief. Velasco denies this, bearing in mind the delicacy and grace of Atahualpa who from an early age had been the idol of his parents and who was educated in exaggerated cleanliness and elegance. In these things Atahualpa was so demanding and lordly that he would not put his feet in their sandals of gold on the floor unless the floor was swept before him; he did not spit but in the hands of some great dame, and he only ate and drank select dishes prepared with the greatest cleanliness.

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175 At the time of the conquest of Perú by the Spanish, the empire of the Incas extended from Chile to the Rio Mayo north of Pasto. It was only in a few places, however, that this nation ever eager to conquer, succeeded in subjugating the tribes of their dominion living on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. The nature of the country, the climate, and the nomadic way of life of the Indians set up almost insuperable difficulties for them. In the northern part of the empire, however, which had been subjugated only a short time and which now forms the republic of Ecuador, contacts had already been made with the Jívaro and Máca Indians living on the tributaries of the Amazonas. The Spaniards sought to extend their conquests in this direction too, when they had taken over the legacy of the dynasty destroyed by them. The small bands of conquistadores were not satisfied with the tremendous stretches of land that had fallen to them with comparatively little effort; they wanted to subjugate more and more new territories, to capture new riches. Soon after the founding of Quito they made an alliance with the Mácas, which was followed in a short time by a large number of expeditions. It sounds almost unbelievable when we hear that after just a few years a number of rather large cities were founded and rapidly began to flourish. Merely in the region of interest to us here the cities of Mendoza on the Rio Palora, Sevilla del Oro on the Rio Upano, and Logroño on the Rio Paute were founded in the year 1552. The wealth of gold and the ease of acquisition drew large numbers of settlers; monasteries were endowed and churches built, and the district of Mácas was soon considered one of the richest and most prosperous of the great Peruvian empire.

101
175 Three Indian tribes, of which only one exists today, are mentioned as inhabitants of the extensive forests on the eastern slope of the Cordillera between the Pastaza and Paute rivers. They are the Mácas, Huamboyas, and Jívaros. The first two seem not to have been very large; the Jívaros formed, and still form today, a large nation, which, to be sure, is made up of many individual tribes living in enmity for the most part, but which nevertheless /326/ join together against a common enemy and can order up a considerable number of fighters.

/326 cont. /

175 648 As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful [797] among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks. 177 114

/327/

600 The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Mácas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Ríobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Río Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

## INTRODUCTION

101
Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 175
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri šuarä* of
eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the [135]
fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest
placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 175
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers 648 [727]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

## *Chapter I*

# THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

> • 175 I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the
> 181 most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have
> 648 traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.
>
> *Captain Hernando de Benavente*
> *—on the Jívaro in a letter to*
> *the Royal Audiencia of Spain,*
> *March 25, 1550*[1]

101 Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper
13 Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the
Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests
to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri šuarä*, the
Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid
meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream
from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *achuarä*
*šuarä* and the [illegible] *šuarä*, Indians who travel more by canoe
than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical
feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted
exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the
east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which
is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has
similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
101 conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is
the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily
forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of
the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and
Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization–the object of this study–are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

## *Jívaro-White Contacts*

• 175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

scribed as "cities," in 1552: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Paute (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora; and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[16] 175 648

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldrete reported in 1582: [316]

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[17]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[18] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all else to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas; and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presuppose several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish; because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians. [797]
>
> (2) That the Jíbaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without bridle or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

(3) That the conquered inhabitants of the Paute, where the city of Logroño was founded, remained very displeased with the unequal administration of its taxes, done because of their old rebelliousness.

(4) That even though they were paid for their labor, in iron tools and other goods, in accordance with the ordinances of President LaGasca, that immediate inducement did not offset their innate idleness, and they worked the gold mines with much reluctance.

Given these points, it is easy to understand with how much activity the uprising would be prepared. Above all, it is necessary to understand that the Jíbaros of the Morona, who were the leaders, had renewed their friendship and alliance with those of the Paute, in the interest of having, through them, the iron tools that they needed.

With the matters of government in these critical circumstances, there arrived orders from the royal Audiencia that there, as everywhere, they conduct the customary ceremony of the oath of allegiance to the King. The Governor, who did not miss an opportunity to enrich himself, wanted to take advantage of this. He proclaimed an edict in the capital, and had it announced in all the [regional] government through his lieutenants, fixing the day well in advance, and imposing a large tax, under the name of a gift, for the solemn royal celebrations, he being the one having to go out to collect it in person in the three provinces, equally from the Spaniards as from the Indians.

As soon as this order was proclaimed, rebellion was also proclaimed in all the [regional] governments, with the greater activity among the Spaniards than among the Indians. Since they [the Spaniards] knew the purpose of asking such a big gift, they resolved to pay the cost of the celebrations themselves, although it might cost more, in order not to enrich the Governor by putting it into his hands. They spoke openly and resolutely about the case, and afraid of not being heard, they elected in their meetings several leaders of a formal and declared conspiracy

• 175 648 against the injustice of the order. The Governor, fearing its effects, since all the Spaniards were stirred up, explained to them, by himself privately, that the gift was free and voluntary, and that each should only contribute according to his means. But he did not explain nor intimate this to the Indians; as a result, while the Spaniards had calmed down, the Indians remained upset.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order with resignation. The Jibaros entered into many consultations, and already were resolved to throw off the yoke, retreating to the Morona. Seeing them with this determination, Quirruba [*Kirupasa?* ("Big Frog")], chief of one of their settlements, very alert and capable, quieted them all down. He told them that that was not the sure way of liberating themselves permanently from the Christians: that if they were attempting to do that, they must entrust themselves to his direction, and must bind themselves to execute in secret all that which he would order, and not to think, for then, of making a withdrawal.

They accepted his proposition and swore to recognize him as their leader and liberator. He imposed two obligations upon them: first, inviolate secrecy on which everything depended; and second, that they seek not only the gold that the Governor ordered, but whatever more they were able to, in order that this might be the price of their liberty, feigning to seek gold with great enthusiasm to solemnize the royal celebrations.

Meanwhile, Quirruba asked, through messengers, for aid from all of the Jibaros of the Morona; and having it assured, he insisted on involving the Macas and Huamboyas in the same conspiracy by means of secret emissaries, because his plan was to wipe out all the Spaniards of the [regional] government at the same time on the same day. He learned the day which the Governor had fixed for his arrival in Logroño, where Quirruba himself was to go personally with part of the army.

He designated two others in whom he had confidence as leaders of the undertaking: one for the capital of Sevilla del Oro, and the other for the town of Huamboya, in order that each one, aided by the local Indians and by the troops of Jibaros that were

• 175 648 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire. The fear of being destroyed by the Jibaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan; but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 648 726 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 648 727 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations; and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone; and bursting his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man 175
escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, 648
when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in 727
all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding,
and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the
army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed.

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and [562]
the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest
for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of [797]
a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier,
because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were
young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had 175
been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the 648
Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, 726
leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the
booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by
one.

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jibaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the 175
major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a
hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Con- 648
quest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder:
the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the
country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was

• 175 648 thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, intrenching the streets, and placing those under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle outside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, cramming into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huamboya, 16 leagues distant, entered the city, having sent all of the rest to Riobamba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a lone sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had retreated to the Cordillera de Cubillin, fleeing the Jíbaros, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They rejoiced in Sevilla del Oro with the recruitment of those people, and passed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They thus won time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

175 648 726 The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be unfaithful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Logroño to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promise.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth onto the

175 648 726 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city, which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 648 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 648 727 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

> • 175 more than 25 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and merchants
> 648 from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this being almost all women and children, with very few men.
>
> 727 Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total
> 175 ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence, and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in
> 648 due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.
>
> It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[19]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Río Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[20]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175 •
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [765]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [727]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants: 179

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apači* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *mulis* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuara* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were. 173 829

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apači* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the 174 [173]

174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *ma'a* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *ai apači*, although he thought it was possible.

• 175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[25] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[26]

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *huará*.

439 With this ~~initiation~~ of trade relations between the two
[173] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río
[166] Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began
to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline
[231] springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance
at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and
the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside
world at about this time.[26]

• 175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries
introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo
men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline
occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade
goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing
forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

648
new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 175
1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jí- 797
varo as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially 439
machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufac- [411]
tured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the
Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission 175
at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having 797
had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the 648
Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1901,
but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by 175
visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. 249
These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos 439
as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade 648
goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to de- 175
cline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory 648
were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded [797]
missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1931, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

175 648 people. Its fine cattle are known, by hearsay at least, throughout Ecuador, but it is rarely that any are driven up to the markets of the plateau. The long trail to Riobamba, the only route from the village to the plateau, is at all seasons of the year so deep in mud that cattle cannot stand the journey over it. One wonders, indeed, how and why such a settlement as Macas exists. But it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants, as in certain sections of eastern Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, as well, are of a type of which white men elsewhere can scarcely conceive. They are with few exceptions a people so long reduced, because of their inability to engage in trade of any importance, to a state in which they have no desires that cannot be satisfied by the land on which they live. Shelter and food are their chief wants. The few articles of their monotonous diet are easily grown. Their huts of bamboo slats . . . are easily constructed from material immediately at hand. On their infrequent trips to the plateau, they may carry with them a bit of gold washed from a nearby stream, a little crude alcohol distilled from cane grown on a river playa, a few homemade cigars, a little coffee or cacao, wherewith to purchase a few yards of cheap cloth needed for clothing. Their life is easy, tranquil and even plentiful within their conception of plenty. The region could undoubtedly support many more people in such a state of plenty and tranquility, but such a life could scarcely satisfy the desirable type of colonist, either local or foreign, who breaks old ties and traditions to set out to find a better life in new lands.[39]

Even as the above sketch was being published, however, a new wave of white colonists had begun to enter this western part of the Jívaro territory.[40] Mestizo workers who had accompanied the Salesian missionaries to Méndez were rediscovering the rich placer gold deposits which the Spaniards had mined in the sixteenth century on the lower Río Paute, lower Río Zamora, and lower Río Upano. Ecuadorians from the province of Azuay in the adjoining Andean highlands soon

came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usu- 648
ally attempt to coerce the Jivaro as conquerors, but came as
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jivaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,* probably
contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jivaro
occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another,
directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [497]
built into the Jivaro region, connecting the highland province [797]
of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the
trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually,
Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which
they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca
to obtain cash. The local Jivaro at first generally welcomed [411]
the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465]
particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which
they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the
colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423]
arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented
by military and police units, their fear of the Jivaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for
pastures. The Jivaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [491]
population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

• 175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731 As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
101 lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
161] ward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward
to the Río Chiguaza region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
669 Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting
bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
[669] all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian
colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
648
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